THE

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By *DAVID RAMSAY*, M. D.
OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.

VOLUME II.

NEW YORK
Russell & Russell

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FIRST PUBLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1789
REPRODUCED FROM THE LONDON EDITION OF 1793
AND REISSUED IN 1968 BY RUSSELL & RUSSELL
A DIVISION OF ATHENEUM HOUSE, INC.
L. C. CATALOG CARD NO: 68-15153
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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CHAP. XIV.

The Campaign of 1777, *in the middle States.*

SOON after the declaration of independence, the authority of Congreſs was obtained for raiſing an army that would be more permanent than the temporary levies which they had previouſly brought into the field. It was at firſt propoſed to recruit for the indefinite term of the war, but it being found on experiment that the habits of the people were averſe to engagements for ſuch an uncertain period of ſervice, the recruiting officers were inſtructed to offer the alternative of, either enliſting for the war, or for three years. Thoſe who engaged on the firſt conditions, were promiſed a hundred acres of land in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raiſed by Congreſs for the ſervice of the United States were called continentals: though in September 1776, it had been reſolved to raiſe 88 battalions, and in December following, authority was given to General Waſhington to raiſe 16 more, yet very little progreſs had been made in the recruiting buſineſs, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Even after that period, ſo much time was neceſſarily conſumed before theſe new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force at Morris-town, and the ſeveral out-poſts, for ſome time did not exceed 1500 men; yet, what is almoſt incredible, theſe 1500 kept as many thouſands of the Britiſh cloſely pent up in

Brunſ-

777. Brunſwick. Almoſt every party that was ſent out by the latter was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the former, and the adjacent country preſerved in a great degree of tranquillity.

It was matter of aſtoniſhment, that the Britiſh ſuffered the dangerous interval between the diſbanding of one army and the raiſing of another, to paſs away without attempting ſomething of conſequence againſt the remaining ſhadow of an armed force. Hitherto there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men; but in the ſpring of 1777, a veſſel of 24 guns arrived from France at Portſmouth in New-Hampſhire, with upwards of 11,000 ſtand of arms, and 1000 barrels of powder. Ten thouſand ſtand of arms arrived about the ſame time in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field, in proſecution of the main buſineſs of the campaign, two enterprizes for the deſtruction of American ſtores were undertaken, in an oppoſite direction to what proved eventually to be the theatre of the operations of Sir William Howe. The firſt was conducted by Colonel Bird, the ſecond by Major-general Tryon. The former landed with about 500 men

Mar. 23. at Peek's Kill, near 50 miles from New-York. General Waſhington had repeatedly cautioned the commiſſaries not to ſuffer large quantities of proviſions to be near the water, in ſuch places as were acceſſible to ſhipping; but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few Americans, who were ſtationed as a guard at Peek's-Kill, on the approach of Colonel Bird, fired the principal ſtorehouſes, and retired to a good poſition, about two or three miles diſtant. The loſs of proviſions, forage, and other valuable articles, was conſiderable.

Major-general Tryon, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked at New-York, and paſſing through the Sound,

April 26. landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about 20 hours at Danbury. On their approach, the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The Britiſh began to burn and deſtroy, but abſtained from injuring the property of ſuch as were reputed Tories—18 houſes, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour,

flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 1700 tents, and some other articles, were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment, but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency, were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of 30 miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such advantageous posts were taken, as enabled them greatly to annoy the invaders when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridgefield in their front—barricadoed the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained the attack, till they had made a lodgement on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than 30 yards distant: his horse was killed, but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet, but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off safe. The Americans, in several detached parties, harrassed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them till they reached their shipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition, but it cost them dear. They had by computation 2 or 300 men killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Americans was about 20 killed and 40 wounded. Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of respectable character and considerable influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter: General Wooster, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country, he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory as an acknowledgement of his merit and services. They also resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to General Arnold, in their name, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct.

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, Colonel

 Meigs,

Meigs, an enterprifing American officer, tranfported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the Sound, which feparates Long-Ifland from Connecticut, and burned twelve brigs and floops belonging to the Britifh, and deftroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles, collected for their ufe in Sagg-Harbour on that ifland,—killed fix of their foldiers, and brought off 90 prifoners, without having a fingle man either killed or wounded. The Colonel and his party returned to Guilford in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having in that fhort fpace not only completed the object of their expedition, but traverfed by land and water, a fpace not lefs than 90 miles. Congrefs ordered an elegant fword to be prefented to Colonel Meigs, for his good conduct in this expedition.

As the feafon advanced, the American army in New-Jerfey was re-inforced by the fucceffive arrival of recruits; but neverthelefs at the opening of the campaign it amounted only to 7272 men.

Great pains had been taken to recruit the Britifh army with American levies. A commiffion of brigadier-general had been conferred on Mr. Oliver Delancey, a loyalift of great influence in New-York, and he was authorifed to raife three battalions. Every effort had been made to raife the men both within and without the Britifh lines, and alfo from among the American prifoners; but with all thefe exertions, only 597 were procured. Mr. Courtland Skinner, a loyalift well known in Jerfey, was alfo appointed a brigadier, and authorifed to raife five battalions. Great efforts were alfo made to procure recruits for his command, but their whole number amounted only to 517.

Towards the latter end of May, General Wafhington quitted his winter encampment at Morriftown, and took a ftrong pofition at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement was effected, the Britifh marched from Brunfwick, and extended their van as far as Somerfet Court-houfe, but in a few days returned to their former ftation. This fudden change was probably owing to the unexpected oppofition which feemed to be collecting from all quarters, for

for the Jerſey militia turned out in a very ſpirited manner to oppoſe them. Six months before, that ſame army marched through New-Jerſey without being fired upon, and even ſmall parties of them had ſafely patrolled the country at a diſtance from the camp; but experience having proved that Britiſh protections were no ſecurity for property, the inhabitants generally reſolved to try the effects of reſiſtance, in preference to a ſecond ſubmiſſion. A fortunate miſtake gave them an opportunity of aſſembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected on high places, with the view of communicating over the country inſtantaneous intelligence of the approach of the Britiſh. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the ſignal of alarm, on the foundation of a falſe report, had been hoiſted: the farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous from conſiderable diſtances: they had ſet out at leaſt twelve hours before the Britiſh, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain, but whatever was his deſign, he thought proper ſuddenly to relinquiſh it and fall back to Brunſwick. The Britiſh army, on their retreat, burned and deſtroyed the farm-houſes on the road, nor did they ſpare thoſe buildings which were dedicated to the ſervice of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunſwick, endeavoured to provoke General Waſhington to an engagement, and left no manœuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his poſition. At one time he appeared as if he intended to puſh on without regarding the army oppoſed to him. At another he accurately examined the ſituation of the American encampment, hoping that ſome unguarded part might be found on which an attack might be made that would open the way to a general engagement: all theſe hopes were fruſtrated; General Waſhington knew the full value of his ſituation. He had too much penetration to loſe it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much tem-

per to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprized that it was not the interest of his country, to commit its fortune to a single action.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and General Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general immediately marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground, but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten-Island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route. During the period of these movements, the real designs of General Howe were involved in great obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained. Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place, but alternately advancing and retreating. General Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased by intelligence which arrived, that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New-York from Canada. Apprehending that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North-River, and that his movements, which looked southwardly, were calculated to deceive, the American General detached a brigade to re-inforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea that a junction of the two royal armies near Albany was intended. Some movements were therefore made by General Washington towards

towards Peek's Kill, and on the other ſide towards Trenton, while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readineſs to march either to the north or ſouth, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length the main body of the royal army, conſiſting of thirty-ſix Britiſh and Heſſian battalions, with a regiment of light horſe, and a loyal provincial corps, called the Queen's Rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about 16,000 men, departed from Sandy-hook, and were reported to ſteer ſouthwardly. About the time of this embarkation, a letter from Sir William Howe to General Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence that the Britiſh troops were deſtined to New-Hampſhire. The intended deception was ſo ſuperficially veiled, that in conjunction with the intelligence of the Britiſh embarkation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of this intercepted letter, General Waſhington gave orders to his army to move to the ſouthward, but he was nevertheleſs ſo much impreſſed with a conviction, that it was the true intereſt of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for ſome time, at the river Delaware, ſuſpecting that the apparent movement of the royal army to the ſouthward was a feint calculated to draw him farther from the North-River. The Britiſh fleet having ſailed from Sandy-hook, were a week at ſea before they reached Cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reaſons that do not obviouſly occur, General Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia, by aſcending the Delaware, and reſolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Cheſapeak. Perhaps he counted on being joined by large re-inforcements from the numerous Tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obſtructions which the Pennſylvanians had planted in the Delaware. If theſe were his reaſons he was miſtaken in both: from the Tories he received no advantage, and from the obſtructions in the river, his ſhips could have received no detriment, if he had landed his troops at New-caſtle, which was 14 miles nearer Philadelphia than the head of Cheſapeak Bay.

The Britifh fleet, after they had left the capes of the Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable paffage, being twenty days before they entered the capes of Virginia. They afcended the bay with a favourable wind, and landed at Turkey-Point. The circumftance of the Britifh fleet putting out to fea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehenfion before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North-River, fo as to prevent their being at hand to oppofe a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Wafhington therefore fell back to fuch a middle ftation, as would enable him either fpeedily to return to the North-River, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The Britifh fleet, after leaving the capes of Delaware, were not heard of for near three weeks, except that they had once or twice been feen near the coaft fteering fouthwardly. A council of officers convened at Nefhaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimoufly gave it as their opinion, that Charleftown, in South-Carolina, was moft probably their object, and that it would be impoffible for the army to march in feafon for its relief. It was therefore concluded to try to repair the lofs of Charleftown, which was confidered as unavoidable, either by attempting fomething on New-York ifland, or by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual oppofition to Burgoyne. A fmall change of pofition, conformably to this new fyftem, took place. The day before the above refolution was adopted, the Britifh fleet entered the Chefapeak: intelligence thereof in a few days reached the American army, and difpelled that mift of uncertainty, in which General Howe's movements had been heretofore enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the Britifh army: their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000, but their real effective force, on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was affumed by them as they paffed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the Britifh. About the fame time a number of the principal inhabitants of that city, being

being ſuſpected of diſaffection to the American cauſe, were taken into cuſtody and ſent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had iſſued the ſtricteſt orders to the troops "for the preſervation of regularity and good diſcipline, and that the moſt exemplary puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon thoſe who ſhould dare to plunder the property, or moleſt the perſons of any of his Majeſty's well-diſpoſed ſubjects." It ſeemed as though fully apprized of the conſequences, which had reſulted from the indiſcriminate plunderings of his army in New-Jerſey, he was determined to adopt a more politic line of conduct. Whatever his intentions might be, they were by no means ſeconded by his troops.

The royal army ſet out from the eaſtern heads of the Cheſapeak, with a ſpirit which promiſed to compenſate for the various delays, which had hitherto waſted the campaign. Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they truſted their future accommodation to ſuch quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldneſs, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then poſted near Newport. General Waſhington ſoon changed his poſition, and took poſt on the high ground near Chadd's Fort, on the Brandywine Creek, with an intention of diſputing the paſſage. It was the wiſh, but by no means the intereſt of the Americans to try their ſtrength in an engagement. Their regular troops were not only greatly inferior in diſcipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumſtances more ſubſtantial than their wiſhes, impoſed a ſpecies of neceſſity on the American General to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to riſque an action for the ſecurity of Philadelphia. Inſtead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the Britiſh muſt have reſpected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been waſted away in a manner fatal to the invaders; but the bulk of the American people were ſo impatient

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of delays, and had ſuch an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowefs of their army, that they could not comprehend the wiſdom and policy of manœuvres to ſhun a general engagement.

On this occaſion, neceſſity dictated that a ſacrifice ſhould be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded; this took place at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, a ſmall ſtream which empties itſelf into Chriſtmas Creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at day-break in two columns, commanded by Lieutenant-general Kniphauſen, and by Lord Cornwallis. The firſt took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a ſhew of paſſing it, in front of the main body of the Americans; at the ſame time the other column moved up on the weſt ſide of the Brandywine to its fork, and croſſed both its branches about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then marched down on the eaſt ſide thereof, with the view of turning the right wing of their adverſaries.

This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loſs. General Kniphauſen amuſed the Americans with the appearance of croſſing the ford, but did not attempt it until Lord Cornwallis having croſſed above, and moved down on the oppoſite ſide, had commenced his attack. Kniphauſen then croſſed the ford, and attacked the troops poſted for its defence. Theſe, after a ſevere conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans ſoon became general, and was continued to Cheſter, under cover of General Weeden's brigade, which came off in good order. The final iſſue of battles often depends on ſmall circumſtances, which human prudence cannot controul—one of theſe occurred here, and prevented General Waſhington from executing a bold deſign, to effect which, his troops were actually in motion. This was to have croſſed the Brandywine, and attacked Kniphauſen, while General Sullivan and Lord Stirling ſhould keep Earl Cornwallis in check. In the moſt critical moment, General Waſhington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of Lord Cornwallis

wallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Kniphausen. This prevented the execution a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army were near six hundred; the loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the list of their wounded were two of their general officers, the Marquis de lay Fayette, and General Woodford. The former was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his service to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to 2000 men, were fleeing through Jersey before a British force of 30,000. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part; his zeal to serve a distressed country was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived in Charlestown early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he should have the rank of Major-general in their army." Independent of the risque he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture, when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbdiden his proceeding to America, and had dispatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies, if found in that quarter. This gallant nobleman, who under all these disadvantages

had

had demonſtrated his good-will to the United States, received a wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine; but he nevertheleſs continued in the field, and exerted himſelf both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of diſtinction alſo ſhared in the engagement. Count Pulaſki, a Poliſh nobleman, the ſame who a few years before had carried off King Staniſlaus from his capital, though ſurrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Ruſſian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine; he was a thunderbolt of war, and always ſought for the poſt of danger as the poſt of honour. Soon after this engagement, Congreſs appointed him commander of horſe, with the rank of brigadier. Monſieur du Coudray, a French officer of high rank and great abilities, while on his way from Philadelphia to join the American army, about this time was drowned in the river Schuylkill. He rode into the flat-bottomed boat on a ſpirited mare, whoſe career he was not able to ſtop, and ſhe went out at the farther end into the river with her rider on her back.

The evening after the battle of Brandywine, a party of the Britiſh went to Wilmington, and took Preſident M'Kinley priſoner. They alſo took poſſeſſion of a ſhallop, loaded with the moſt valuable effects of the inhabitants.

Howe perſevered in his ſcheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no leſs ſteadily purſued on the one ſide, than avoided on the other. Waſhington came forward in a few days with a reſolution of riſquing another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren Tavern on the Lancaſter road. Near that place both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a moſt violent ſtorm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceaſed, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined; they therefore withdrew to a place of ſafety. Before a proper ſupply was procured, the Britiſh marched from their poſition near the White Horſe Tavern, down towards the Swedes Ford. The Americans again took poſt in their front; but the Britiſh, inſtead of urging an action, began to

march up towards Reading. To ſave the ſtores which had been depoſited in that place, Waſhington took a new poſition, and left the Britiſh in undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a ſucceſſion of ſevere duties; there were in his army above a thouſand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition. About this time the Americans ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by a night attack, conducted by General Grey, on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli Tavern. The outpoſts and pickets were forced without noiſe about one o'clock in the morning. The men had ſcarcely time to turn out, and when they turned out, they unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires; this directed the Britiſh how, and where to proceed; they ruſhed in upon them and put about 300 to death in a ſilent manner by a free and excluſive uſe of the bayonet. The enterpriſe was conducted with ſo much addreſs, that the loſs of the aſſailants did not exceed eight.

1777. Sept. 20.

Congreſs, which after a ſhort reſidence at Baltimore had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a ſecond time to conſult their ſafety by flight. They retired at firſt to Lancaſter, and afterwards to York-Town.

The bulk of the Britiſh army being left in German-Town, Sir William Howe, with a ſmall part, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who either from conſcience, cowardice, intereſt, or principle, had hitherto ſeparated themſelves from the claſs of active Whigs.

Sept. 26.

The poſſeſſion of the largeſt city in the United States, together with the diſperſion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the ſhort-ſighted as deciſive of their fate. The ſubmiſſion of countries, after the conqueſt of their capital, had often been a thing of courſe, but in the great conteſt for the ſovereignty of the United States, the queſtion did not reſt with a ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the poſſeſſion or loſs of any particular place. It was the public mind, the ſentiments and opinions

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nions of the yeomanry of the country which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the refidence of the Britifh army, yet, as long as the bulk of the people of the United States were oppofed to their government, the country was unfubdued. Indeed it was prefumed by the more difcerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would fo far enervate the Britifh troops as to indifpofe them from thofe active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impreffion the Britifh fucceffes might make in France to the prejudice of America, Dr. Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by obferving, "that inftead of faying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to fay, Philadelphia had taken Sir William Howe."

One of the firft objects of the Britifh, after they had got poffeffion, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any infult by water. The Britifh fhipping were prevented from afcending the Delaware, by obftructions hereafter to be defcribed, which were fixed near Mud-Ifland. Philadelphia, though poffeffed by the Britifh army, was expofed to danger from the American veffels in the river. The American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinifhed batteries, and being feconded by fome fmaller veffels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries and town, but upon the falling of the tide fhe ran aground. Being brifkly fired upon from the town, while in this condition, fhe was foon compelled to furrender. The other American veffels, not able to refift the fire from the batteries, after lofing one of their number, retired.

General Wafhington having been re-inforced by 2500 men from Peck's Kill and Virginia; and having been informed that General Howe had detached a confiderable part of his force for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived a defign of attacking the Britifh poft at German-Town. Their line of encampment croffed the town at right angles near its centre; the left wing extended

extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and diſmounted chaſſeurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were poſted on the Cheſnut Hill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers. A few of the general officers of the American army, whoſe advice was requeſted on the occaſion, unanimouſly recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it ſhould be made in different places, to produce the greater confuſion, and to prevent the ſeveral parts of the Britiſh forces from affording ſupport to each other. From an apprehenſion that the Americans, from the want of diſcipline, would not perſevere in a long attack, it was reſolved that it ſhould be ſudden and vigorous, and if unſucceſsful to make an expeditious retreat. The diviſions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Cheſnut Hill, while General Armſtrong with the Pennſylvania militia ſhould fall down the Manatawny Road, and gain the left and rear of the Britiſh. The diviſions of Greene and Stephen's flanked by M'Dougal's brigade were to enter by the Lime Kiln Road. The militia of Maryland and Jerſey, under Generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the Old York Road, and to fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord Stirling with Naſhe's and Maxwell's brigade were to form a corps de reſerve. The Americans began their attack about ſun-riſe on the 40th regiment and a battalion of light infantry. Theſe two corps being obliged to retreat, were purſued into the village. On their retreat Lieutenant-colonel Muſgrove with ſix companies took poſt in Mr. Chew's ſtrong ſtone houſe, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never leaving a fort poſſeſſed by an enemy in the rear, it was reſolved to attack the party in the houſe.

In the mean time, General Greene got up with his column and attacked the right wing. Colonel Matthews routed a party of the Britiſh oppoſed to him, killed ſeveral.

veral, and took 110 prisoners, but from the darkness of the day lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was taken prisoner with his whole regiment, and the prisoners which he had previously taken were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time at that place inactive. In the mean time, General Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour; a sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 49th regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was extremely foggy.—This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprize. From these causes the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light horse, and joined in the pursuit; this was continued for some miles.—The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about 500. Among their slain were Brigadier-general Agnew, and Lieutenant-colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including 400 prisoners, was about 1000. Among their slain were General Nash and his aid de camp Major Witherspoon.

Soon after this battle the British left German-Town, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen gallies, two floating batteries, two zebeques, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire-ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans had also built a fort on Mud-Island, to which they

they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia: no vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud-Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red-Bank; this overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country: on this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which are half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament for the defence of the river Delaware made their harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux de frise were also sunk into the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber strongly framed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharfs in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river were annexed to the upper parts of these chevaux de frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under the water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about 300 yards below Fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel. The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport; and opposite to this, another range of chevaux de frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon at the mouth of Mantua Creek, about half way from Red-Bank to Billingsport. The British were well apprized, that without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve, to open the navigation of that river---to this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures

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for conducting the fleet and transports round from the Chesapeak to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy-Island to New-Castle. Early in October a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On their approach the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the General and the Admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time Count Donop with 2000 men, having crossed into New-Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank. This was defended by about 400 men under the command of Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the Count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it; it had therefore become necessary to run a line in the middle thereof, and one part of it was evacuated. That part was easily carried by the assailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe, well-directed fire on the assailants, by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400; Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved to present Colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack made about the same time on Fort Mifflin by men of war and frigates, was not more successful than the assault on Red-Bank. The Augusta man of war of 64 guns, and the Merlin, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got aground: the former was fired and blew up; the latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British for opening the navigation of the Delaware were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The chevaux de frise having been sunk some considerable

able time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels; in confequence thereof, the paffage between the iflands and the Pennfylvania fhore was fo deepened, as to admit veffels of fome confiderable draught of water. Through this paffage, the Vigilant, a large fhip, cut down fo as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a pofition from which fhe might enfilade the works on Mud-Ifland. This gave the Britifh fuch an advantage, that the poft was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September to the 11th of November, being wounded, was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, Major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous poft, was obliged to evacuate it.

This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down---every piece of cannon difmounted, and one of the Britifh fhips fo near that fhe threw grenadoes into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops who had fo bravely defended Fort Mifflin, made a fafe retreat to Red-Bank. Congrefs voted fwords to be given to Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Commodore Hazlewood, for their gallant defence of the Delaware. Within three days after Mud-Ifland was evacuated, the garrifon was alfo withdrawn from Red-Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis at the head of a large force prepared to affault it. Some of the American gallies and armed veffels efcaped by keeping clofe in with the Jerfey fhore, to places of fecurity above Philadelphia, but 17 of them were abandoned by their crews and fired. Thus the Britifh gained a free communication between their army and fhipping; this event was to them very defirable. They had been previoufly obliged to draw their provifions from Chefter, a diftance of fixteen miles, at fome rifque, and a certain great expence. The long protracted defence of the Delaware deranged the plans of the Britifh for the remainder of the campaign, and confequently faved the adjacent country.

About this time the chair of Congrefs became vacant,

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by the departure of Mr. Hancock, after he had discharged the duties of that office to great satisfaction two years and five months. Henry Laurens, of South-Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor. He had been in England for some years antecedent to the hostile determinations of Parliament against the Colonies, but finding the dispute growing serious, he conceived that honour and duty called him to take part with his native country. He had been warmly solicited to stay in England, and offers were made him not only to secure, but to double his American estate, in case of his continuing to reside there, —but these were refused. To a particular friend in London, dissuading him from coming out to America, he replied, on the 9th of Nov. 1774, when at Falmouth on the point of embarking, "I shall never forget your "friendly attention to my interest, but I dare not return. "Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent "on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted "the part of a faithful subject, I now go resolved still to "labour for peace; at the same time determined in the "last event to stand or fall with my country."

Immediately on his arrival in Charleston, he was elected a member, and soon after the President of the Provincial Congress---the President of the Council of Safety---the Vice-President of the State---and a member of Congress.

While Sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprize in Pennsylvania, intelligence arrived, as shall be related in the next chapter, that General Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war to the Americans.

General Washington soon after received a considerable re-inforcement from the northern army, which had accomplished this great event. With this increased force he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army having succeeded in removing the obstructions in the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprizes. 4. Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chesnut-Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from the

the right wing of the Americans. On the day following the Britiſh changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after they moved ſtill farther to the right, and made every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some ſkirmiſhes took place, and a general action was hourly expected; but inſtead thereof, on the morning of the next day, after various marches and countermarches, the Britiſh filed off from their right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

The poſition of General Waſhington, in a military point of view, was admirable: he was ſo ſenſible of the advantage of it, that the manœuvres of Sir William Howe for ſome days, could not allure him from it. In conſequence of the re-inforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a general engagement. Though he ardently wiſhed to be attacked, yet he would not relinquiſh a poſition from which he hoped for reparation for the adverſities of the campaign. He could not believe that General Howe with a victorious army, and that lately re-inforced with four thouſand men from New-York, ſhould come out of Philadelphia only to return thither again. He therefore preſumed, that to avoid the diſgrace of ſuch a movement, the Britiſh commander would, from a ſenſe of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great diſadvantages. When he found him cautious of engaging and inclining to his left, a daring deſign was formed, which would have been executed had the Britiſh either continued in their poſition, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was to have attempted in the night to ſurpriſe Philadelphia. The neceſſary preparations for this purpoſe were made, but the retreat of the Britiſh prevented its execution. Soon after theſe events, General Smallwood, with a conſiderable force, was poſted at Wilmington on the banks of the Delaware, and General Waſhington with the main army retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge, ſixteen miles diſtant from Philadelphia. This poſition was preferred to diſtant and more comfortable villages, as

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being calculated to give the moſt extenſive ſecurity to the country adjacent to Philadelphia. The American army might have been tracked by the blood of their feet, in marching without ſhoes or ſtockings over the hard frozen ground between Whitemarſh and Valley Forge. Some hundreds of them were without blankets. Under theſe circumſtances they had to ſit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. This mode of procuring winter quarters, if not entirely novel, has been rarely if ever practiſed in modern war. The cheerfulneſs with which the General and his army ſubmitted to ſpend a ſevere winter in ſuch circumſtances, rather than leave the country expoſed by retiring farther, demonſtrated as well their patriotiſm as their fixed reſolution to ſuffer every inconvenience in preference to ſubmiſſion. Thus ended the campaign of 1777. Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, having gained two conſiderable victories, and been equally triumphant in many ſmaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia, whilſt the men under his command poſſeſſed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. The Congreſs, it is true, was compelled to leave the firſt ſeat of their deliberations, and the greateſt city in the United States changed a number of its Whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if poſſible, more hoſtile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by diſcipline and experience, as compenſated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverſe to the ſanguine hopes which had been entertained of a ſpeedy conqueſt of the revolted Colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that, though General Waſhington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impoſſible for the royal commander to bring him to action againſt his conſent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new-formed ſtates, two campaigns

paigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one, was still unfinished.

An account of some miscellaneous transactions will close this chapter. Lieutentant-colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of the state of Rhode-Island, accompanied by about 40 volunteers, passed by night from Warwick-Neck to Rhode-Island, and surprised General Prescot in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids safe off to the continent. Though they had a passage of ten miles by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard-boats which lay all round the island. The enterprize was conducted with so much silence and address, that there was no alarm among the British till the Colonel and his party had nearly reached the continent with their prize. Congress soon after resolved, that an elegant sword should be presented to Lieutenant-colonel Barton, as a testimonial of their sense of his gallant behaviour.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress in the latter end of November, 1775, authorised the capture of vessels, laden with stores or re-inforcements for their enemies. On the 23d of March, 1786, they extended this permission so far as to authorise their inhabitants to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very successful. In the course of the year they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward bound West India men. The particulars cannot be enumerated, but good judges have calculated, that within nine months after Congress authorised privateering, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, exceeded a million sterling. They found no difficulty in selling their prizes; the ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West Indies. In the latter, they were sold without any disguise, but in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open sales were not permitted in the harbours of France at particular times, but even then they were made at the entrance or offing.

In the French West India islands the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by American cruisers,

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but fitted out privateers under American colours and commiſſions, and made captures of Britiſh veſſels. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, was ſtationed as the agent of Congreſs, at Martinico, and he took an early and active part in arming privateers at St. Pierre, to annoy and cruiſe againſt Britiſh property. The favourable diſpoſition of the inhabitants furniſhed him with an opportunity which he ſucceſsfully improved, not only to diſtreſs the Britiſh commerce, but to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord between the French and Engliſh. The American privateers alſo found countenance in ſome of the ports of Spain, but not ſo readily nor ſo univerſally as in thoſe of France. The Britiſh took many of the American veſſels, but they were often of inferior value. Such of them as were laden with proviſions, proved a ſeaſonable relief to the Weſt India iſlands, which otherwiſe would have ſuffered from the want of thoſe ſupplies, which before the war had been uſually procured from the neighbouring continent.

The American privateers in the year 1777, increaſed in numbers and boldneſs. They inſulted the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland in a manner that had never before been attempetd. Such was their ſpirit of adventure, that it became neceſſary to appoint a convoy for the protection of the linen ſhips from Dublin and Newry. The General Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Breſt, and ſaluted the French admiral. This was returned in form as to the veſſel of an independent power. Lord Stormont, the Britiſh Ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unleſs ſatisfaction was given, and different meaſures were adopted by France. An order was iſſued in conſequence of his application, requiring all American veſſels to leave the ports of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: but though the order was poſitive, ſo many evaſions were practiſed, and the execution of it was ſo relaxed, that it produced no permanent diſcouragement of the beneficial intercourſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Northern Campaign of 1777.

TO effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, was a principal object with the British for the campaign of 1777. The Americans presuming on this, had been early attentive to their security in that quarter. They had resolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, which is an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved to obstruct the navigation of the strait by cassoons, to be sunk in the water, and joined so as to serve at the same time for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side of it; and that to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, the passage of that Lake should be obstructed,—that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made by the commanding officer in the department for 13,600 men, as necessary for the security of this district. The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British Ministry were very sanguine in their hopes, from the consequences of forming a line of communication between New-York and Canada. They considered the New-England people to be the soul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets and armies, and Indian allies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations, they left nothing undone which bid fair for ensuring the success of the plans they had formed for this purpose.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of 7000. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in the American war, where

where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and faſtneſſes, this part of the ſervice was particularly attended to. The braſs train that was ſent out, was perhaps the fineſt, and the moſt excellently ſupplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to ſecond the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was ſuppoſed that the Canadians and the loyaliſts, in the neighbouring ſtates, would add large reinforcements, well calculated for the peculiar nature of the ſervice. Arms and accoutrements were accordingly provided to ſupply them. Several nations of ſavages had alſo been induced to take up the hatchet, as allies to his Britannic Majeſty. Not only the humanity, but the policy of employing them was queſtioned in Great Britain. The oppoſers of it contended, that Indians were capricious, inconſtant, and intractable, their rapacity inſatiate, and their actions cruel and barbarous. At the ſame time their ſervices were repreſented to be uncertain, and that no dependence could be placed on their moſt ſolemn engagements. On the other hand, the zeal of Britiſh Miniſters for reducing the revolted Colonies was ſo violent, as to make them, in their exceſſive wrath, forget that their adverſaries were men. They contended, that in their circumſtances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to diſobedience, and thereby increaſing the objects of puniſhment, was eventual cruelty. In their opinion, partial ſeverity was general mercy, and the only method of ſpeedily cruſhing the rebellion was to invelope its abettors in ſuch complicated diſtreſs, as by rendering their ſituation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the proffered bleſſings of peace and ſecurity. The ſentiments of thoſe who were for employing Indians againſt the Americans prevailed. Preſents were liberally diſtributed among them. Induced by theſe, and alſo by their innate thirſt for war and plunder, they poured forth their warriors in ſuch abundance, that their numbers threatened to be an incumbrance.

The vaſt force deſtined for this ſervice was put under the command of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, an officer whoſe ablities were well known, and whoſe ſpirit of enter-

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prize and thirst for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by Major-general Philips of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by Major-general Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Speecht of the German troops, together with the British Generals Frazer, Powell, and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit.

The British had also undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. The marine force thereon, with which in the preceding campaign they had destroyed the American shipping on the Lakes, was not only entire but unopposed.

A considerable force was left in Canada for its internal security, and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British Ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet, by their arrangements for the year 1777, he was only called upon to act a secondary part, in subserviency to the grand expedition committed to General Burgoyne. His behaviour on this occasion was conformable to the greatness of his mind. Instead of thwarting or retarding a service which was virtually taken out of his hands, he applied himself to support and forward it in all its parts, with the same diligence as if the arrangement had been entirely his own, and committed to himself for execution.

The plan of the British for their projected irruption into the north western frontier of New-York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne with the main body, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New-York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about 200 British troops, a regiment of New-York loyalists raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne arrived in Quebec

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on the 6th of May, and exerted all diligence to proſecute in due time the objects of the expedition; he proceeded up Lake Champlain and landed near Crown-Point. At this place he met the Indians—gave them a war feaſt, and made a ſpeech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army, but at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity. He pointedly forbad them to ſhed blood when not oppoſed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promiſed for priſoners, and a ſevere inquiry threatened for ſcalps, though permiſſion was granted to take them from thoſe who were previouſly killed in fair oppoſition. Theſe reſtrictions were not ſufficient, as will appear in the ſequel, to reſtrain their barbarities. The Indians having decidedly taken part with the Britiſh army, General Burgoyne iſſued a proclamation, calculated to ſpread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian aſſociates were magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe to their prey deſcribed in high-ſounding words. The force of the Britiſh armies and fleets prepared to cruſh every part of the revolted Colonies, was alſo diſplayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promiſed to thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt in the re-eſtabliſhment of legal government, and ſecurity held out to the peaceable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war, arrayed in their moſt terrific forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould perſevere in a military oppoſition to the royal forces.

General Burgoyne advanced with his army in a few days to Crown-Point. At this place he iſſued orders, of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The ſervices required on this expedition are critical and conſpicuous. During our progreſs occaſions may occur, in which, nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army muſt not retreat." From Crown-Point the royal army proceeded to inveſt Ticonderoga. On their approach to it, they advanced with equal caution and order

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on both ſides of the Lake, while their naval force kept in its center. Within a few days they had ſurrounded three-fourths of the American works at Ticonderago and Mount Independence, and had alſo advanced a work on Sugar-Hill which commands both, ſo far towards completion, that in 24 hours it would have been ready to open. In theſe circumſtances General St. Clair, the commanding officer, reſolved to evacuate the poſt at all events; but conceiving it prudent to take the ſentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occaſion. It was repreſented to this council, that their whole numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works, and that as the whole muſt be on conſtant duty, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the neceſſary fatigue for any length of time, and that as the place would be completely inveſted on all ſides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the poſts could ſave their troops. The ſituation of General St. Clair was eminently embarraſſing. Such was the confidence of the ſtates in the fancied ſtrength of this poſt, and of the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of force for its defence, that to retreat without riſquing an action could not fail of drawing on him the execration of the multitude. To ſtand ſtill, and by ſuffering himſelf to be ſurrounded to riſque his whole army for a ſingle poſt, was contrary to the true intereſt of the ſtates. In this trying ſituation, with the unanimous approbation of a council of his general officers, he adopted the heroic reſolution of ſacrificing perſonal reputation to ſave his army.

The aſſumption of confident appearances in the garriſon had induced their adverſaries to proceed with great caution. While from this cauſe they were awed into reſpect, the evacuation was completed with ſo much ſecrecy and expedition, that a conſiderable part of the public ſtores was ſaved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind which ſprung up in the night prevented the boats from reaching their ſtation.

The works abandoned by the Americans, were as follow: the old French lines conſtructed in the late war

between

between France and England, which looked towards General Burgoyne's encampment, had been repaired the year before, and were in good order. About the center was a battery of ſix guns. Theſe occupied about two-thirds of the high ground from the ſtrait to the old fort. The remaining third was open, but ſome fleches were thrown up for its ſecurity. The old fort was in ruins, but ſome guns were mounted on one of its ravelins, and looked towards the Lake. There was alſo a battery of four guns in the French lines, which had the ſame aſpect. On the point above the bridge was a battery of four guns, and on Mount Independence another of ſix or eight. The fort on that ſide was nearly a mile from the battery, and was formed of piquets. The defence of it might have employed four hundred men, but it could not have reſiſted a ſix-pounder. There were no barracks within it, nor a drop of water, but at a conſiderable diſtance. From the battery at the point, a line of entrenchment ran round the mount, upwards of a mile and a half in length. There had been a ſtrong abbatis in the front of this line the year before, but it had been conſumed by fire, as was alſo that in front of the French lines. Towards the eaſt of the mount was a block-houſe ; another was on the Ticonderoga ſide. New works were begun on the mount, but there was neither time nor ſtrength of hands to complete them. A great deal of timber had been felled between the eaſt creek and the foot of the mount, to retard the approaches of the Britiſh. All the redoubts on the low ground were abandoned for want of men to occupy them. Theſe works, together with 93 pieces of ordnance, and a large collection of proviſions, fell into the hands of the Britiſh.

This evacuation of Ticonderoga was the ſubject of a ſevere ſcrutiny. Congreſs recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an inquiry into their conduct. They alſo nominated two gentlemen of eminence in the law to aſſiſt the Judge Advocate in proſecuting that inquiry, and appointed a committee of their own body to collect evidence in ſupport of the charges, which were on this occaſion brought againſt them. General

neral St. Clair, from the neceſſity of the caſe, ſubmitted to this innovation in the mode of conducting courts martial, but in behalf of the army proteſted againſt its being drawn into precedent. Charges of no leſs magnitude than cowardice, incapacity, and treachery, were brought forward in court againſt him, and believed by many. The public mind, ſore with the loſs of Ticonderoga, and apprehenſive of general diſtreſs, ſought to eaſe itſelf by throwing blame on the General. When the ſituation of the army permitted an inquiry into his conduct, he was honourably acquitted. In the courſe of his trial it was made to appear, that though 13,600 men had been early called for as neceſſary to defend the northern poſts, yet, on the approach of General Burgoyne, the whole force collected to oppoſe him was only 2546 continentals, and 900 militia badly equipped, and worſe armed. From the inſufficiency of their numbers, they could not poſſeſs themſelves of Sugar Hill, nor of Mount Hope, though the former commanded the works both of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the latter was of great importance for ſecuring the communication with Lake George, and had been fortified the year before with that view. To the queſtion which had been repeatedly aſked, "why was the evacuation, if really neceſſary, delayed till the Americans were ſo nearly ſurrounded, as to occaſion the loſs of ſuch valuable ſtores?" It was anſwered, that "from various circumſtances it was impoſſible for General St. Clair to get early information of the numbers oppoſed to him. They made no debarkation till they came to Gilliland's Creek, which is about 40 miles to the northward of Ticonderoga, and from this they ſpeedily re-imbarked. The ſavages which they kept in front, deterred ſmall reconnoitring parties from approaching ſo near as to make any diſcoveries of their numbers. Large parties, from the nature of the ground, could not have been ſupported without riſquing a general action, and from the combined operation of theſe circumſtances, the numbers of the approaching royal army were effectually concealed from the garriſon, till the van of their force appeared in full view before it." The retreating army embarked as

much

much of their baggage and ſtores as they had any proſpect of ſaving on board batteaux, and diſpatched them under convoy of five armed gallies to Skeneſborough. Their main body took its route towards the ſame place by way of Caſtleton. The Britiſh were no ſooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they purſued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major-general Reideſel was alſo ordered, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, to march in the ſame direction. General Burgoyne in perſon conducted the purſuit by water. The obſtructions to the navigation not having been completed, were ſoon cut through. The two frigates—the Royal George and the Inflexible, together with the gun-boats, having effected their paſſage, purſued with ſo much rapidity, that in the courſe of a day the gun-boats came up with and attacked the American gallies near Skeneſborough Falls. On the approach of the frigates all oppoſition ceaſed; two of the gallies were taken and three blown up. The Americans ſet fire to their works, mills, and batteaux. They were now left in the woods deſtitute of proviſions: in this forlorn ſituation they made their eſcape up Wood-Creek to Fort Anne. Brigadier Frazer purſued the retreating Americans; came up with, and attacked their rear guard at Hubbordton. In the courſe of the engagement he was joined by the German troops commanded by General Reideſel. The Americans commanded by Colonel Warner made a gallant reſiſtance, but after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, were obliged to give way. Lieut. Colonel Hall, with the ninth Britiſh regiment, was detached from Skeneſborough by General Burgoyne, to take poſt near Fort Anne. An engagement enſued between this regiment and a few Americans, but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort and and retreated to Fort Edward. The deſtruction of the gallies and batteaux of the Americans at Skeneſborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged General St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Caſtleton to the left. After a fatiguing and diſtreſſing march of ſeven days, he joined

General

General Schuyler at Fort Edward. Their combined forces, inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole 4400 men, were not long after on the approach of General Burgoyne, compelled to retire farther into the country, bordering on Albany. Such was the rapid torrent of success, which in this period of the campaign swept away all opposition from before the royal army. The officers and men were highly elated with their good fortune: they considered their toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be within their grasp, and the conquest of the adjacent provinces reduced to a certainty. In Great Britain intelligence of the progress of Burgoyne diffused a general joy. As to the Americans, the loss of reputation which they sustained in the opinion of their European admirers, was greater than their loss of posts, artillery, and troops. They were stigmatized as wanting the resolution and abilities of men in the defence of their dearest rights. Their unqualified subjugation, or unconditional submission, was considered as being near at hand. An opinion was diffused, that the war in effect was over, or that the farther resistance of the Colonists would serve only to make the terms of their submission more humiliating. The terror which the loss of Ticonderoga spread throughout the New-England states was great, but nevertheless no disposition to purchase safety by submission appeared in any quarter. They did not sink under the apprehensions of danger, but acted with vigour and firmness. The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage, and provision. In the mean time General Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns to send a deputation of ten or more persons from their respective townships, to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, on the 15th of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun-boats, provision, vessels, and batteaux over land, into Lake George.

An

An immenfity of labour in every quarter was neceffary, but animated as they were with paft fucceffes and future hopes, they difregarded toil and danger.

From Skenefborough General Burgoyne directed his courfe acrofs the country to Fort Edward, on Hudfon's-River. Though the diftance in a right line from one to the other is but a few miles, yet fuch is the impracticable nature of the country, and fuch were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that nearly as many days were confumed as the diftance paffed over in a direct line would have meafured in miles. The Americans under the direction of General Schuyler had cut large trees on both fides of the road, fo as to fall acrofs with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewife fo broken with creeks and marfhes, that they had no lefs than forty bridges to conftruct, one of which was a log-work over a morafs, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had General Burgoyne fallen back from Skenefborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George, but he declined this route, from an apprehenfion that a retrogade motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had alfo a fufpicion that fome delay might be occafioned by the American garrifon at Fort George, as in cafe of his taking that route, they might fafely continue to refift to the laft extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was prefumed, that as foon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would confult their fafety by a feafonable evacuation. In addition to thefe reafons he had the advice and perfuafion of Colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a perfon proper to be confulted ; his land was fo fituated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenefborough would greatly enhance its value. This circumftance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, efpecially as being the fhorteft, it bid fair for uniting the royal intereft with private convenience. The opinion formed by General Burgoyne of the effect of his direct movement from Skenef-borough

borough to Fort Edward on the American garrifon, was verified by the event; for being apprehenfive of having their retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort and burnt their veffels. The navigation of Lake George being thereby left free, provifions and ammunition were brought forward from Fort George to the firft navigable parts of Hudfon's River: this is a diftance of 15 miles, and the roads of difficult paffage. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the infufficient means of tranfportation and exceffive rains, caufed fuch delays, that at the end of fifteen days there were not more than four days provifions brought forward, nor above ten batteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, as well as of the march through the wildernefs from Skenefborough to Fort Edward, were encountered and overcome by the royal army with a fpirit and alacrity which could not be exceeded. At length, after incredible fatigue and labour, General Burgoyne, and the army under his command reached Fort Edward, on Hudfon's River. Their exultation on accomplifhing, what for a long time had been the object of their hopes, was unufually great.

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While the Britifh were retarded in their advance by the combined difficulties of nature and art, events took place, which proved the wifdom and propriety of the retreat from Ticonderoga. The army faved by that means, was between the inhabitants and General Burgoyne; this abated the panic of the people, and became a center of rendezvous for them to repair to: on the other hand, had they ftood their ground at Ticonderoga, they muft in the ordinary courfe of events, in a fhort time, either have been cut to pieces, or furrendered themfelves prifoners of war. In either cafe, as General St. Clair reprefented in his elegant defence: "Fear and difmay would have feized on the inhabitants from the falfe opinion that had been formed of the ftrength of thefe pofts, wringing grief and moping melancholy would have filled the habitations of thofe whofe deareft connections were in that army, and a lawlefs hoft of ruffians, fet loofe from every focial principle, would have roamed at large through the defence-

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lefs country, while bands of favages would have carried havock, devaftation, and terror before them. Great part of the ftate of New-York muft have fubmitted to the conqueror, and in it he would have found the means to profecute his fuccefs. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with General Howe, and would probably foon have been in the fame country with him—that country where the illuftrious Wafhington, with an inferior force made fo glorious a ftand, but who muft have been obliged to retire if both armies had come upon him at once—or he might have been forced to a general and decifive action in unfavourable circumftances, whereby the hopes, the now well-founded hopes of America—of liberty, peace, and fafety, might have been cut off for ever." Such, it was apprehended, would have been the confequences, if the American northern army had not retreated from their pofts at Ticonderoga. From the adoption of that meafure very different events took place. In a few days after the evacuation, General Schuyler iffued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the inhabitants the late barbarities and defolations of the royal army in Jerfey—warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors if they joined the Britifh, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American ftandard. Numerous parties were alfo employed in bringing off public ftores, and in felling trees and throwing obftructions in the way of the advancing royal army. At firft an univerfal panic intimidated the inhabitants, but they foon recovered: the laws of felf-prefervation operated in their full force, and diffufed a general activity through the adjacent ftates. The formalities of convening, draughting, and officering the militia, were in many inftances difpenfed with. Hundreds feized their firelocks, and marched on the general call, without waiting for the orders of their immediate commanders. The inhabitants had no means for fecurity, but to abandon their habitations and take up arms; every individual faw the neceffity of becoming a temporary foldier. The terror excited by the Indians inftead of difpofing the inhabitants to court Britifh protection, had a contrary effect. The friends of the royal caufe, as well as its enemies,

mies, ſuffered from their indiſcriminate barbarities. Among other inſtances, the murder of Miſs M'Crea excited an univerſal horror. This young lady, in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty—the daughter of a ſteady loyaliſt, and engaged to be married to a Britiſh officer, was, on the very day of her intended nuptials, maſſacred by the ſavage auxiliaries attached to the Britiſh army.* Occaſion was thereby given to inflame the populace, and to blacken the royal cauſe. The cruelties of the Indians, and the cauſe in which they were engaged, were aſſociated together, and preſented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. Thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to draw forth the militia in ſupport of American independence, ſtrongly expreſſed their execrations of the army which ſubmitted to accept of Indian aid, and they loudly condemned that government which could call ſuch auxiliaries into a civil conteſt, as were calculated not to ſubdue, but to exterminate a people whom they affected to reclaim as ſubjects. Their cruel mode of warfare, by putting to death as well the ſmiling infant and the defenceleſs female, as the reſiſting armed man, excited an univerſal ſpirit of reſiſtance. In conjunction with other circumſtances, it impreſſed on the minds of the inhabitants a general conviction that a vigorous, determined oppoſition was the only alternative for the preſervation of their property, their children, and their wives. Could they have indulged the hope of ſecurity and protection while they remained peaceably at their homes, they would have found many excuſes for declining to aſſume the profeſſion of ſoldiers, but when they contraſted the dangers of a manly reſiſtance with thoſe of a paſſive inaction, they choſe the former as the leaſt of two unavoidable evils. All the feeble aid

* This, though true, was no premeditated barbarity. The circumſtances were as follows: Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her ſafety, engaged ſome Indians to remove her from among the Americans, and promiſed to reward the perſon who ſhould bring her ſafe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her ſome diſtance, on the way to her intended huſband, diſputed which of them ſhould preſent her to Mr. Jones. Both were anxious for the reward. One of them killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. His life was only ſpared upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the General thought would be more efficacious than an execution, in preventing ſimilar miſchiefs.

which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. While danger was remote, the pressing calls of Congress and of the general officers, for the inhabitants to be in readiness to oppose a distant foe, were unavailing, or tardily executed; but no sooner had they recovered from the first impression of the general panic, than they turned out with unexampled alacrity. The owners of the soil came forward with that ardor, which the love of dear connections and of property inspires. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. When they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place with a much greater and more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward would be so entangled as not to be able to advance or retreat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their several towns, and set forth in high-colouring the cruelties of the savage auxiliaries of Great Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of 13,000 men.

While General Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had ascended the river St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. On the approach of this detachment of the royal army, General Harkimer collected about 800 of the Whig militia of the parts adjacent for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger, aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some Tories and Indians to lie in ambush, and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect: the General and his militia were surprised, but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of confu-

sion

ſion followed. Some of Harkimer's men run off, but others poſted themſelves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and ſucceſs. The loſs on the ſide of the Americans was 160 killed, beſides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader General Harkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himſelf of the terror excited on this occaſion, and endeavoured by ſtrong repreſentations of Indian barbarity to intimidate the garriſon into an immediate ſurrender. He ſent verbal and written meſſages, "demanding the ſurrender of the fort, and ſtating the impoſſibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under General Harkimer were entirely cut off, and as General Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants," he repreſented "the pains he had taken to ſoften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in caſe of an immediate ſurrender every man in the garriſon ſhould be ſpared," and particularly enlarged on the circumſtance, "that the Indians were determined, in caſe of their meeting with farther oppoſition, to maſſacre not only the garriſon, but every man, woman or child in the Mohawk country." Colonel Ganſevort, who commanded in the fort, replied, "that being by the United States entruſted with the charge of the garriſon, he was determined to defend it to the laſt extremity againſt all enemies whatever, without any concern for the conſequences of doing his duty."

It being reſolved, maugre the threats of Indian barbarities, to defend the fort, Lieutenant-colonel Willet undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Stockwell, to give information to their fellow citizens of the ſtate of the garriſon. Theſe two adventurous officers paſſed by night through the beſiegers works, and at the hazard of falling into the hands of ſavages, and ſuffering from them the ſeverity of torture, made their way for fifty miles through dangers and difficulties, in order to procure relief for their beſieged aſſociates. In the mean time, the Britiſh carried on their operations with ſuch induſtry, that in leſs than three weeks they had advanced within 150 yards of the fort.

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The brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not forgotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by General Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Mr. Tost Schulyer, who had been taken up by the Americans, on suspicion of his being a spy, was promised his life and his estate, on consideration that he should go and alarm the Indians with such representations of the numbers marching against them, as would occasion their retreat. He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, and being able to converse in their own language, informed them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near at hand; they were thoroughly frightened and determined to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them, but nothing could change their determination. It is the characteristic of these people on a reverse of fortune to betray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy which is necessary to struggle for a length of time with difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better defended than was expected; they had lost several headmen in their engagement with General Harkimer, and had gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the certainty of the approach of a re-inforcement to their adversaries, which they believed to be much greater than it really was, made them quite untractable. Part of them instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to follow, if the British did not immediately retreat. This measure was adopted, and the siege raised. From the disorder occasioned by the precipitancy of the Indians, the tents, and much of the artillery and stores of the besiegers, fell into the hands of the garrison. The discontented savages, exasperated by their ill fortune, are said, on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates of their baggage and provisions.

While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to General Burgoyne, on hearing of its being besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal force of his adversaries was in front between him and Albany, he hoped, by advancing on them, to reduce them

them to the neceſſity of fighting, or of retreating out of his way to New-England. Had they, to avoid an attack, retreated up the Mohawk river, they would, in caſe of St. Leger's ſucceſs, have put themſelves between two fires. Had they retreated to Albany, it was ſuppoſed their ſituation would have been worſe, as a co-operation from New-York was expected. Beſides, in caſe of that movement, an opportunity would have been given for a junction of Burgoyne and St. Leger. To have retired from the ſcene of action by filing off for New-England, ſeemed to be the only opening left for their eſcape. With ſuch views, General Burgoyne promiſed himſelf great advantages from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal objection againſt this plauſible project, was the difficulty of furniſhing proviſions for his troops. To keep up a communication with Fort George, ſo as to obtain from that garriſon regular ſupplies at a diſtance, daily increaſing, was wholly impracticable. The advantages which were expected from the propoſed meaſure, were too dazzling to be eaſily relinquiſhed. Though the impoſſibility of drawing proviſions from the ſtores in their rear was known and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they might be elſewhere obtained. A plan was therefore formed to open reſources from the plentiful farms of Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of Colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one deſcription of the inhabitants in that country were panic ſtruck, and that another, and by far the moſt numerous, were friends to the Britiſh intereſt, and only wanted the appearance of a protecting power to ſhew themſelves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached only 500 men, 100 Indians, and two field pieces, which he ſuppoſed would be fully ſufficient for the expedition. The command of this force was given to Lieutenant-colonel Baum, and it was ſuppoſed that with it he would be enabled to ſeize upon a magazine of ſupplies which the Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was only guarded by militia. It was alſo intended to try the temper of the inhabitants, and to mount the dragoons. Lieutenant-colonel Baum was inſtructed to keep the re-

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gular force poſted, while the light troops felt their way; and to avoid all danger of being ſurrounded, or of having his retreat cut off; but he proceeded with leſs caution than his perilous ſituation required. Confiding in the numbers and promiſed aid of thoſe who were depended upon as friends, he preſumed too much. On his approaching the place of his deſtination, he found the American militia ſtronger than had been ſuppoſed; he therefore took poſt in the vicinity, entrenched his party, and diſpatched an expreſs to General Burgoyne, with an account of his ſituation. Colonel Breyman was detached to re-inforce him. Though every exertion was made to puſh forward this re-inforcement, yet, from the impracticable face of the country, and defective means of tranſportation, 32 hours elapſed before they had marched 24 miles. General Starke, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, engaged with them before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occaſion about 800 undiſciplined militia, without bayoynets, or a ſingle piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops, advantageouſly poſted behind entrenchments—furniſhed with the beſt arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken from the party commanded by Col. Baum, and the greateſt part of the detachment was either killed or captured. Colonel Breyman arrived on the ſame ground and on the ſame day, but not till the action was over. Inſtead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himſelf briſkly attacked. This was begun by Colonel Warner, (who with his continental regiment, having been ſent for from Mancheſter, came opportunely at this time) and was well ſupported by Stark's militia, which had juſt defeated the party commanded by Colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great reſolution, but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat. In theſe two actions the Americans took four braſs field pieces, twelve braſs drums, 250 dragoon ſwords, 4 ammunition waggons, and about 700 priſoners. The loſs of the Americans, incluſive of their wounded, was about 100 men.

Congreſs

Congrefs refolved, "that their thanks be prefented to Gen. Stark, of the New-Hampfhire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and fuccefsful attack upon, and fignal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington, and alfo that Brigadier Stark be appointed a Brigadier-general in the army of the United States." Never were thanks more defervedly beftowed. The overthrow of thefe detachments was the firft link in a grand chain of caufes, which finally drew down ruin on the whole royal army. The confidence with which the Americans were infpired, on finding themfelves able to defeat regular troops, produced furprifing effects; it animated their exertions, and filled them with expectation of farther fucceffes.

That military pride, which is the foul of an army, was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans was the depreffion of their adverfaries. Accuftomed to fuccefs, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unufual mortification from this unexpected check: though it did not diminifh their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not eafy to enumerate all the difaftrous confequences which refulted to the royal army, from the failure of their expedition to Bennington. Thefe were fo extenfive, that their lofs of men was the leaft confiderable; it deranged every plan for pufhing the advantages which had been previoufly obtained. Among other embarraffments it reduced General Burgoyne to the alternative of halting till he brought forward fupplies from Fort George, or of advancing without them at the rifque of being ftarved. The former being adopted, the royal army was detained from Auguft 16th, to September 13th. This unavoidable delay gave time and opportunity for the Americans to collect in great numbers.

The defeat of Lieutenant-colonel Baum was the firft event which for a long time had taken place in favour of the American northern army. From December 1775, it had experienced one misfortune treading on the heels of another, and defeat fucceeding defeat. Every movement

ment had been either retreating or evacuating. The subsequent transactions present a remarkable contrast. Fortune which, previous to the battle of Bennington, had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed after that event, as if she had totally deserted it, and gone over to the opposite party.

After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanshaick's Island. Soon after the retreating system was adopted, Congress recalled their general officers, and put General Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia, flushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard; they soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. A spirit of adventure burst forth in many different points of direction. While General Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing towards Albany, an enterprize was undertaken by General Lincoln to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. He detached Colonel Brown with 500 men to the landing at Lake George. The Colonel conducted his operations with so much address, that he surprised all the out-posts between the landing at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga. He also took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, 200 batteaux, several gun-boats, and an armed sloop, together with 290 prisoners, and at the same time released 100 Americans. His own loss was trifling. Colonel Brown and Colonel Johnson, the latter of whom had been detached with 500 men to attempt Mount Independence, one xamination found that the reduction of either that post or of Ticonderoga, was beyond their ability. When the necessary stores for thirty days subsistence were brought forward from Lake George, General Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in the rear, and crossed Hudson's river. The movement was the subject of much discussion; some charged it to the impetuosity of the General, and alledged that it was premature before

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he was ſure of aid from the royal forces poſted in New-York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his ſuperiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and eſpecially his paſſage of the North-River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and in conjunction with ſubſequent events made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

General Burgoyne, after croſſing the Hudſon, advanced along its ſide, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from General Gates' camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their ſucceſſes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing Britiſh, and engaged them with firmneſs and reſolution. The attack began a little before mid-day, between the ſcouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both ſides ſupported and re-inforced their reſpective parties. The conflict, though ſevere, was only partial for an hour and a half, but after a ſhort pauſe it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermiſſion. A conſtant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies ſeemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and Britiſh alternately drove, and were driven by each other; men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every ſide. Several of the Americans placed themſelves in high trees, and as often as they could diſtinguiſh an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his perſon. Few actions have been characteriſed by more obſtinacy in attack or defence; the Britiſh repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their uſual ſucceſs in the uſe of that weapon. At length night put an end to the effuſion of blood. The Britiſh loſt upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded, and priſoners. The Americans, incluſive of the miſſing, loſt 319. Thirty-ſix out of forty-eight Britiſh matroſſes were killed or wounded. The 62d Britiſh regiment, which was 500 ſtrong when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men and 4 or 5 officers. This hard-fought battle decided nothing, and little elſe than honour was gained by either army, but nevertheleſs

it was followed by important consequences: of these, one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The dangerous service in which they were engaged, was by no means suited to their habits of war: they were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and saw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of savages, to retain them in such an unproductive service. By deserting in the season when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a second instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians and other British provincials: they also abandoned the British standard, when they found, that instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointment which General Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army which was stationed at New-York; he depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in some difficulties to which he would not have otherwise been exposed.

General Burgoyne received intelligence in a cypher, that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New-York, intended to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected on Hudson's River, to obstruct the intercourse between New-York and Albany. In answer to this communication he dispatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persons, with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation, and to assure him, that he was enabled in point of provisions and fixed in his resolution, to hold his present position till the 12th of October, in the hopes of favourable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New-York, founded on this intelligence,

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made it disgraceful to retreat, and at the same time improper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of affairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of the promised co-operation from New-York, became necessary. In the mean time, the provisions of the royal army were lessening, and the animation and numbers of the American army increasing. The New-England people were fully sensible, that their All was at stake, and at the same time sanguine, that by vigorous exertions Burgoyne would be so entangled, that his surrender would be unavoidable. Every moment made the situation of the British army more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving farther supplies, General Burgoyne lessened the soldiers provisions. The 12th of October, the term till which the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from New-York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming situation, it was thought proper to make a movement to the left of the Americans. The body of troops employed for this purpose consisted of 1500 chosen men, and was commanded by Generals Burgoyne, Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. As they advanced, they were checked by a sudden and impetuous attack; but Major Ackland, at the head of the British grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness. The Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers, and they also marched a large body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light infantry, with a part of the 24h regiment, were directed to form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, the Americans pushed forward a fresh and a strong re-inforcement, to renew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his army was obliged to give way, but the light infantry and 24th regiment, by a quick movement, came to its succour, and saved it from total ruin. The British lines being exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearest to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the

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works poſſeſſed by Lord Balcarras, at the head of the British light infantry; but the brigade having an abbatis to croſs, and many other obſtructions to ſurmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left this brigade, and came to Jackſon's regiment, which he ordered inſtantly to advance and attack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were defended by Lieutenant-colonel Breyman at the head of the German grenadiers. The aſſailants puſhed on with rapidity, and carried the works; Arnold was one of the firſt who entered them. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was killed: the troops commanded by him retired firing; they gained their tents about 30 or 40 yards from their works, but on finding that the aſſault was general, they gave one fire, after which ſome retreated to the Britiſh camp, but others threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

This day was fatal to many brave men; the Britiſh officers ſuffered more than their common proportion. Among their ſlain, General Frazer, on account of his diſtinguiſhed merit, was the ſubject of particular regret: Sir James Clark, Burgoyne's aid de camp, was mortally wounded: the General himſelf had a narrow eſcape, a ſhot paſſed through his hat, and another through his waiſtcoat: Majors Williams and Ackland were taken, and the latter wounded. The loſs of the Americans was inconſiderable, but General Arnold, to whoſe impetuoſity they were much indebted for the ſucceſs of the day, was among their wounded. They took more than 200 priſoners, beſides 9 pieces of braſs artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade with all their equipage.

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action, but nothing more than ſkirmiſhes took place. At this time, General Lincoln, when reconnoitring, received a dangerous wound; an event which was greatly regretted, as he poſſeſſed much of the eſteem and confidence of the American army.

The poſition of the Britiſh army, after the action of the 7th, was ſo dangerous, that an immediate and total change became neceſſary. This hazardous meaſure was executed without loſs or diſorder: the Britiſh camp, with

with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American General now saw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him, without exposing his own to the danger of another battle. His measures were therefore principally calculated to cut off their retreat, and prevent them receiving any farther supplies.

While General Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New-York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Hudson's River. This consisted of about 3000 men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force: after making many feints he landed at Stoney Point, and marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance; but as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great; Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North-River, but instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed Fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan so completely burned Esopus, a fine flourishing village, that a single house was not left stand-

ing, though on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any refiftance. Charity would lead us to fuppofe that thefe devaftations were defigned to anfwer military purpofes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of General Gates, and thus indirectly relieve General Burgoyne, but if this was intended the artifice did not take effect. The prefervation of property was with the Americans only a fecondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promifed fuch important confequences, that they would not fuffer any other confideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a fingle movement that leffened the probability of effecting his grand purpofe. He wrote an expoftulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms: "Is it thus your King's generals think to make converts to the royal caufe? It is no lefs furprifing than true, that the meafures they adopt to ferve their mafter, have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty eftablifhes the glorious acts of independence upon the broad bafis of the refentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devaftation of property is uncertain, but it cannot admit of a doubt that it was far from being the moft effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The paffage of the North-River was made fo practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to 3000 men, might not only have reached Albany, but General Gates's encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New-York. While the Britifh were doing mifchief to individuals without ferving the caufe of their royal mafter, it feems as though they might, by pufhing forward about 136 miles in fix days, have brought Gates's army between two fires, at leaft twenty four hours before Burgoyne's neceffity compelled his fubmiffion to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their fuffering brethren, about thirty-fix miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about one hundred miles below it, has never yet been fatisfactorily explained.

Gates pofted 1400 men on the heights oppofite the fords

fords of Saratoga, and 2000 more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded from them, especially from the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him: to avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, were necessarily left behind, but they were recommended to the humanity of General Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When General Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights to impede his passage at that ford. In order to prepare the way for a retreat to Lake George, General Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty, and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat which now remained, was by a night march to Fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were entrenched opposite to those fords on the Hudson's River, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George; they had at the same time parties down the whole shore and posts, so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for their subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor could it retreat without making good its way over a river in face of a strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans

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were ſo near as to diſcover every movement, and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly diſtreſſing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the moſt critical moment by their Indian allies---unſupported by their brethren in New-York--- weakened by the timidity and deſertion of the Canadians— worn down by a ſeries of inceſſant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were inveſted by an army nearly three times their number, without a poſſibility of retreat, or of repleniſhing their exhauſted ſtock of proviſions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape ſhot fell in many parts of their lines; they nevertheleſs retained a great ſhare of fortitude.

In the mean time the American army was hourly increaſing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to ſhare in the glory of deſtroying or capturing thoſe whom they conſidered as their moſt dangerous enemies. The 13th of October at length arrived: the day was ſpent in anxious expectation of its producing ſomething of conſequence. But as no proſpect of aſſiſtance appeared, and their proviſions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any in due time for their relief could not reaſonably be farther indulged. General Burgoyne thought proper in the evening to take an account of the proviſions left. It was found on inquiry, that they would amount to no more than a ſcanty ſubſiſtence for three days. In this ſtate of diſtreſs, a council of war was called, and it was made ſo general, as to comprehend both the field officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their preſent ſituation juſtified a capitulation on honourable terms. A meſſenger was therefore diſpatched to begin this buſineſs. General Gates in the firſt inſtance demanded, that the royal army ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war. He alſo propoſed that the Britiſh ſhould ground their arms. But General Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmiſſible in every extremity; ſooner than this army will conſent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will ruſh on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various meſſages a convention was ſettled,

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by which it was ſubſtantially ſtipulated as follows: "The troops under General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free paſſage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not ſerving again in North-America during the preſent conteſt, and the port of Boſton to be aſſigned for the entry of the tranſports to receive the troops whenever General Howe ſhall ſo order. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march to Maſſachuſett's Bay, by the eaſieſt route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as poſſible, to Boſton. The troops to be provided with proviſion by General Gates' orders, at the ſame rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horſes, and no baggage to be moleſted or ſearched. The officers are not, as far as circumſtances will admit, to be ſeparated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieut. General Burgoyne's army to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and perſons belonging to the Canadian eſtabliſhment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada—to be conducted to the firſt Britiſh poſt on Lake George, and to be ſupplied with proviſions as the other troops, and to be bound by the ſame condition of not ſerving during the preſent conteſt. Paſſports to be granted to three officers, to carry diſpatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their ſide arms." Such were the embarraſſments of the royal army, incapable of ſubſiſting where it was, or of making its way to a better ſituation, that theſe terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American General at the head of his army, which, though numerous, conſiſted moſtly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the deſpair of even an inferior number of

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brave, disciplined regular troops. General Gates rightly judged that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected the highest honour on the American General; nor did the politeness of Gates end here: every circumstance was withheld that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive General was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies met at General Gates' quarters, and for a while seemed to forget in social and convivial pleasures that they had been enemies. The conduct of General Burgoyne in this interview with General Gates was truly dignified, and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished General.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, 5790 men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000. The stores which the Americans acquired were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of 35 brass field pieces; there were also 4647 muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The continentals in General Gates' army were 9093, the militia 4129, but of the former 2103 were sick or on furlough, and 562 of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

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The general exultation of the Americans, on receiving the agreeable intelligence of the convention of Saratoga, disarmed them of much of their resentment. The burnings and devastations which had taken place were sufficient to have inflamed their minds, but private feelings were in a great measure absorbed by a consideration of the many advantages which the capture of so large an army promised to the new-formed states.

In a short time after the convention was signed, General Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North River, but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New-York.

About the same time the British, which had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquillity.

Great was the grief and dejection in Britain, on receiving the intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne. The expedition committed to him had been undertaken with the most confident hopes of success. The quality of the troops he commanded, was such, that from their bravery, directed by his zeal, talents, and courage, it was presumed that all the northern parts of the United States would be subdued before the end of the campaign. The good fortune which for some time followed him justified these expectations, but the catastrophe proved the folly of planning distant expeditions, and of projecting remote conquests.

The consequences of these great events vibrated round the world. The capture of Burgoyne was the hinge on which the revolution turned. While it encouraged the perseverance of the Americans by well-grounded hopes of final success, it increased the embarrassments of that ministry which had so ineffectually laboured to compel their submission. Opposition to their measures gathered new strength, and formed a stumbling block in the road to conquest. This prevented Great Britain from acting with that collected force which an union of sentiments

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and councils would have enabled her to do. Hitherto the best informed Americans had doubts of succefs in eftablifhing their independence, but henceforward their language was, " That whatever might be the event of their prefent ftruggle, they were for ever loft to Great Britain." Nor were they deceived: the eclat of capturing a large army of Britifh and German regular troops, foon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

Immediately after the furrender of the troops commanded by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, they were marched to the vicinity of Bofton. On their arrival they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Profpect Hills. The general court of Maffachufetts paffed proper refolutions for procuring fuitable accommodations for the prifoners; but from the general unwillingnefs of the people to oblige them, and from the feeblenefs of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow-citizens, it was impoffible to provide immediately for fo large a number of officers and foldiers, in fuch a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reafonably expect. The officers remonftrated to General Burgoyne, that fix or feven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their refpective ranks, in violation of the 7th article of the convention. General Burgoyne, on the 14th of November, forwarded this account to General Gates, and added, " the public faith is broken." This letter being laid before Congrefs gave an alarm: it corroborated an apprehenfion previoufly entertained that the captured troops on their embarkation would make a junction with the Britifh garrifons in America. The declaration of the General, that " the public faith was broken," while in the power of Congrefs, was confidered by them as deftroying the fecurity which they before had in his perfonal honour, for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to juftify his future conduct. They therefore refolved, " That the embarkation of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command be poftponed, till a diftinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified

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by the Court of Great Britain to Congrefs." General Burgoyne explained the intention and conftruction of the paffage objected to in his letter, and pledged himfelf, that his officers would join with him in figning any inftrument that might be thought neceffary for confirming the convention; but Congrefs would not recede from their refolution. They alledged, that it had been often afferted by their adverfaries, that "faith was not to be kept with rebels," and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interefts of their conftituents if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority, before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact broken in one article was no longer binding in any other. They made a diftinction between the fufpenfion and abrogation of the convention, and alledged that ground to fufpect an intention to violate it, was a juftifying reafon for fufpending its execution on their part till it was properly ratified. The defired ratification, if Great Britain was ferioufly difpofed to that meafure, might have been obtained in a few months, and Congrefs uniformly declared themfelves willing to carry it into full effect, as foon as they were fecured of its obfervance by proper authority on the other fide.

About eight months after certain royal commiffioners, whofe official functions fhall be hereafter explained, made a requifition refpecting thefe troops—offered to ratify the convention, and required permiffion for their embarkation. On inquiry it was found, that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congrefs therefore refolved, "That no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in confequence of powers which only reach that cafe by conftruction and implication, or which may fubject whatever is tranfacted relative to it, to the future approbation or difapprobation of the Parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congrefs."

Till the capture of Burgoyne the powers of Europe were only fpectators of the war between Great Britain and her late Colonies, but foon after that event they were

drawn

7. drawn in to be parties. In every period of the contro
verſy, the claims of the Americans were patroniſed b
ſundry reſpectable foreigners. The letters, addreſſes, an
other public acts of Congreſs, were admired by man
who had no perſonal intereſt in the conteſt. Liberty i
ſo evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that eve
they who never poſſeſſed it feel the propriety of contend
ing for it, and whenever a people take up arms either t
defend or to recover it, they are ſure of meeting wit
encouragement or good wiſhes from the friends of huma
nity in every part of the world.

From the operation of theſe principles, the American
had the eſteem and good wiſhes of multitudes in all part
of Europe. They were reputed to be ill uſed, and wer
repreſented as a reſolute and brave people, determined t
reſiſt oppreſſion. Being both pitied and applauded, ge
nerous and ſympathetic ſentiments were excited in thei
favour. Theſe circumſtances would have operated i
every caſe, but in the preſent, the cauſe of the American
was patroniſed from additional motives. An univerſa
jealouſy prevailed againſt Great Britain. Her navy ha
long tyranniſed over the nations of Europe, and demande
as a matter of right that the ſhips of all other powe
ſhould ſtrike their ſails to her as miſtreſs of the ocean
From her eagerneſs to prevent ſupplies going to her re
bellious Coloniſts, as ſhe called the Americans, the veſſel
of foreign powers had for ſome time paſt been ſubjecte
to ſearches and other interruptions, when ſteering toward
America, in a manner that could not but be impatientl
born by independent nations. That pride and inſolenc
which brought on the American war, had long diſguſte
her neighbours, and made them rejoice at her misfortune
and eſpecially at the proſpect of diſmembering her over
grown empire.

CHAP

CHAP. XVI.

The Alliance between France and the United States. The Campaign in 1778.

SOON after intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded at Paris treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumſtances which led to this great event deſerve to be particularly unfolded. The Coloniſts having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great Britain, conducted their oppoſition for ſeveral months after they had raiſed troops, and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the intereſt of Europe to promote a ſeparation between Great Britain and her Colonies, but as they began the conteſt with no other view than to obtain a redreſs of grievances, they neither wiſhed in the firſt period of their oppoſition to involve Great Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themſelves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great Britain in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the firſt event which made it neceſſary for them to ſeek foreign connections. At the time ſhe was urging military preparations to compel their ſubmiſſion, ſhe forbad the exportation of arms, and ſolicited the commercial powers of Europe to co-operate with her, by adopting a ſimilar prohibition. To fruſtrate the views of Great Britain, Congreſs, beſides recommending the domeſtic manufacture of the materials for military ſtores, appointed a ſecret committee with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and alſo employed agents in foreign countries for the ſame purpoſe. The evident advantages which France might derive from the continuance of the diſpute, and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged Congreſs to ſend a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with inſtructions to ſolicit its friendſhip, and to procure military ſtores. Silas Deane being choſen for this purpoſe, ſailed for France early in 1776, and was ſoon after his arrival at Paris inſtructed to ſound Count de Vergennes, the French miniſter for

foreign

foreign affairs, on the ſubject of the American controverſy. As the public mind, for reaſons which have been mentioned, cloſed againſt Great Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June 1776, Congreſs appointed a committee to prepare a plan of a treaty to be propoſed to foreign powers. The diſcuſſion of this novel ſubject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While Congreſs was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was ſoliciting a ſupply of arms, ammunition, and ſoldiers cloathing for their ſervice. A ſufficiency for lading three veſſels was ſoon procured. What agency the government of France had in furniſhing theſe ſupplies, or whether they were ſold or given as preſents, are queſtions which have been often aſked, but not ſatisfactorily anſwered, for the buſineſs was ſo conducted that the tranſaction might be made to aſſume a variety of complexions, as circumſtances might render expedient.

It was moſt evidently the intereſt of France to encourage the Americans in their oppoſition to Great Britain, and it was true policy to do this by degrees, and in a private manner, leſt Great Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are ſometimes influenced by conſiderations of friendſhip and generoſity, but intereſt is the pole ſtar by which nations are univerſally governed. It is certain that Great Britain was amuſed with declarations of the moſt pacific diſpoſitions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally ſupplied with the means of defence; and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy for promoting that diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire which France had an intereſt in accompliſhing.

Congreſs knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain could not but be deſirable to France. Sore with the loſs of her poſſeſſions on the continent of North-America, by the peace of Paris in the year 1763, and alſo by the capture of many thouſands of her ſailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, ſhe muſt have been ſomething more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depreſſing an ancient and formidable

midable rival. Befides the increafing naval fuperiority of Great Britain, her vaft refources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in Colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtinefs of her flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the intereft of Congrefs to apply to the court of France, and it was the intereft of France to liften to their application.

Congrefs having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propofe to his moft Chriftian Majefty, proceeded to elect commiffioners to folicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferfon were chofen. The latter declining to ferve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very ferviceable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was refolved, that no member fhould be at liberty to divulge any thing more of thefe tranfactions than "that Congrefs had taken fuch fteps as they judged neceffary for obtaining foreign alliances." The fecret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgement in France of ten thoufand pounds fterling, fubject to the order of thefe commiffioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the bufinefs, and afterwards as Minifter Plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in poffeffion of a greater proportion of foreign fame than any other native of America. By the dint of fuperior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the higheft eminence among men of learning, and in many inftances extended the empire of fcience. His genius was vaft and comprehenfive, and with equal eafe inveftigated the myfteries of philofophy and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philofopher had reached as far as human nature is polifhed or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The profperity and happinefs of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Difgufted with Great Britain, and glowing with the moft ardent love for the liberties of his oppreffed native country, he left London, where he had refided fome years in the character of agent for feveral of the Colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadel-

phia,

phia, and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennſylvania, to ſhare in the oppoſition to Great Britain as a member of Congreſs. Shortly after his appointment to ſolicit the intereſts of Congreſs in France, he ſailed for that country; he was no ſooner landed than univerſally careſſed. His fame had ſmoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvouſed at Paris, ſoon after opened their buſineſs in a private audience with Count de Vergennes. The Congreſs could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumſtances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the deſire of rendering his reign illuſtrious. Count de Vergennes was not leſs remarkable for extenſive political knowledge, than for true greatneſs of mind; he had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conqueſts are neither the ſureſt nor the ſhorteſt way to ſubſtantial fame. He knew full well that no ſucceſs in war, however brilliant, could ſo effectually promote the ſecurity of France, as the emancipation of the Colonies of her ancient rival. He had the ſuperior wiſdom to diſcern, that there were no preſent advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compenſate for thoſe laſting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Inſtead of graſping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble ſituation of the invaded Colonies, he aimed at nothing more than by kind and generous terms to a diſtreſſed country, to perpetuate the ſeparation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his ſovereign had much to fear.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct which the real intereſt of the nation required of the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. An haughty reſerve would have diſcouraged the Americans; an open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and diſpoſed them to a compromiſe with their Colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle

dle line as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. Whilst the French government prohibited, threatened, and even punished the Americans; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence as well as policy required that France should not be over hasty in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, she was vulnerable on every side; her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from another quarter; the peace of Europe was supposed to be unstable, from a prevailing belief that the speedy death of the Elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principle reason which induced a delay, was an opinion that the dispute between the Mother Country and the Colonies would be compromised. Within the 13 years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and re-united them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the sagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the same manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquillity. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was possible for the British American Colonists to join with their antient enemies against their late friends.

At this period Congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and fit for war in the French ports any number of vessels (not exceeding six) at the expence of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would

not

not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777 marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the court of France, nor sell them publicly, but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most Christian Majesty to accept the treaty proposed by Congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed, that the important transaction required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776, till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance were alternated, but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long-Island, the reduction of New-York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and re-kindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground; their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporising policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire, but farther procrastination bid fair to promote, at least such a fœderal alliance of the disjointed

disjointed parts of the Britiſh empire as would be no leſs hoſtile to the intereſts of France than a re-union of its ſeveral parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to preſs for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under conſideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the oppoſition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was likely to be finally ſucceſsful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to eſpouſe their cauſe. The commiſſioners of Congreſs were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the Secretaries of the King's council of ſtate, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them. That in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their ſituation to obtain terms, which otherwiſe it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty deſired the treaty once made ſhould be durable, and their amity to ſubſiſt for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an intereſt in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended that the terms of the treaty ſhould be ſuch as the new formed ſtates would be willing to agree to, if they had been long ſince eſtabliſhed, and in the fulneſs of ſtrength and power, and ſuch as they ſhould approve of when that time ſhould come. That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to ſupport their independence. That in doing this he might probably ſoon be engaged in a war, yet he ſhould not expect any compenſation from the United States on that account, nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their ſakes, ſince beſides his real good-will to them, it was manifeſtly the intereſt of France, that the power of England ſhould be diminiſhed by the ſeparation of the Colonies from its government. The only condition he ſhould require and rely on would be, that the United States in no peace to be

made, ſhould give up their independence and return to the obedience of the Britiſh government." At any time previouſly to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the Britiſh Miniſtry to have ended the American war, and to have eſtabliſhed an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great ſervice to both; but from the ſame haughtineſs which for ſome time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their intereſts, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries propoſed by Mr. Gerard, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Lewis the Sixteenth, on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the United States, on the footing of the moſt perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of theſe, that illuſtrious monarch became the guarantee of their ſovereignty, independence, and commerce.

On a review of the conduct of the French Miniſtry to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wiſe regard to national intereſt. Any line of conduct differing from that which they adopted, might have overſet the meaſure which they wiſhed to eſtabliſh. Had they pretended to act from diſintereſted principles of generoſity to the diſtreſſed, the known ſelfiſhneſs of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretenſion. By avowing the real motive of their conduct, they furniſhed ſuch a proof of candour as begat confidence.

The terms of reciprocity on which they contracted with the United States were no leſs recommended by wiſe policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing excluſive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to cloſe the war when ſhe pleaſed, with all the advantages of future commerce that France had ſtipulated for herſelf. This judicious meaſure made the eſtabliſhment of American independence the common cauſe of all the commercial powers of Europe, for the queſtion then was, whether the trade of the United States ſhould

ſhould by the ſubverſion of their independence be again monopoliſed by Great Britain, or by the eſtabliſhment of it laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are juſtly entitled, but as great a tribute is due to the ſtateſman who, from a more elevated ſtation, determines on meaſures in which the general ſafety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the Count de Vergennes, who, as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Miniſter for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in theſe treaties. While the Miniſters of his Britannic Majeſty were pleaſing themſelves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not leſs ſurpriſed than provoked by hearing of the alliance which had taken place between his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the United States; this event though often foretold was diſbelieved. The zeal of the Britiſh Miniſtry to reduce the Colonies to ſubmiſſion blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that intereſt governs public bodies perhaps more than private perſons, they ſuppoſed that feebler motives would outweigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wiſhes, they fancied that becauſe France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted Britiſh Coloniſts, from the fear of eſtabliſhing a precedent, which at a future day might operate againſt themſelves. Tranſported with indignation againſt their late fellow ſubjects, they were ſo infatuated with the American war, as to ſuppoſe that trifling evils, both diſtant and uncertain, would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of ſecuring great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be juſtified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of hiſtory to decide. Meaſures of this kind are not determined by abſtract reaſoning. The preſent feelings of a nation, and the probable conſequences of loſs or gain influence more than the deciſions of ſpeculative men. Suf,

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fice it to mention, that the French exculpated themfelves from the heavy charges brought againft them, by this fummary mode of reafoning, "We have found," faid they, "the late Colonies of Great Britain in actual poffeffion of independence, and in the exercife of the prerogatives of fovereignty. It is not our bufinefs to inquire whether they had, or had not fufficient reafon to withdraw themfelves from the government of Great Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. We are to conduct ourfelves towards nations agreeably to the political ftate in which we find them, without inveftigating how they acquired it. Obferving them to be independent in fact, we are bound to fuppofe they are fo of right, and had the fame liberty to make treaties with them as with any other fovereign power." They alfo alledged, that Great Britain could not complain of their interference, fince fhe had fet them the example only a few years before, in fupporting the Corficans in oppofition to the court of France; they had befides many well-founded complaints againft the Britifh, whofe armed veffels had for months paft harraffed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted Colonies.

The Marquis de la Fayette, whofe letters to France had a confiderable fhare in reconciling the nation to patronife the United States, was among the firft in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a tranfport of joy, mingled with an effufion of tears, he embraced General Wafhington, exclaiming, "The king my mafter has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its eftablifhment." The heart-felt joy, which fpread from breaft to breaft, exceeded defcription. The feveral brigades affembled by order of the commander in chief; their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered difcourfes fuitable to the occafion. A feu de joie was fired, and, on a proper fignal being given, the air refounded with "Long live the King of France," poured forth from the breaft of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own ftrength for three years weathered the ftorms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full

view

1778.

view. Replete with the sanguine views of vigorous youth, they presumed that Britain, whose northern army had been reduced by their sole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined forces of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance, and undervaluing the resources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, Congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them, "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they would not secure their country from devastation."—The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days, before it was known to the British Ministry, and in less than five weeks more, it was officially communicated to the court of London in a rescript, delivered by the French ambassador to Lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great Britain who advocated the measure of peace with America, on the footing of independence: but the point of honour, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The King and Parliament of Great Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "An unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown, and essential interests of the kingdom." And at the same time a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negociations and concessions, to detach the United States from their new alliance, and re-unite them to the Parent State. Eleven days after the treaty between France and America had been concluded, the British Minister introduced into the House of Commons a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a re-union of the new States with Great Britain. This consisted of two bills, with the following

March 13.

Feb. 17.

titles.

titles, "a bill for declaring the intention of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his Majesty's Colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America," and a bill to "enable his Majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America." These bills were hurried through both Houses of Parliament, and before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to Lord and General Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to Congress at York-Town. When they were received, Congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received, but all the letters therein were taken out before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A committee of Congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the day following, and was unanimously adopted. By this they rejected the proposals of Great Britain. The vigorous and firm language in which Congress expressed their rejection of these offers, considered in connection with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, Congress trusting on the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public; their act, after some general remarks on the bill, concluded as follows:

"From

"From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the ſaid bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of theſe States, ſo as to creat diviſions among them, and a defection from the common cauſe, now, by the bleſſing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable iſſue. That they are the ſequel of that inſidious plan, which, from the days of the ſtamp-act down to the preſent time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodſhed. And that, as in other caſes ſo in this, although circumſtances may force them at times to recede from their unjuſtifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the firſt favourable occaſion, again diſplay that luſt of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous conteſt upon principles of common intereſt, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities, and by mutual good offices and affection, ſo the great cauſe for which they contend, and in which all mankind are intereſted, muſt derive its ſucceſs from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with commiſſioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of theſe United States.

And further, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that theſe United States cannot with propriety hold any conference with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive and expreſs terms, acknowledge the independence of the ſaid States.

And inaſmuch as it appears to be the deſign of the enemies of theſe States to lull them into a fatal ſecurity—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the ſeveral States be called upon to uſe the moſt ſtrenuous exer-

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tions to have their reſpective quotas of continental troops in the field as ſoon as poſſible, and that all the militia of the ſaid States be held in readineſs to act as occaſion may require."

The conciliatory bills were ſpeedily followed by royal commiſſioners, deputed to ſolicit their reception. Governor Johnſtone, Lord Carliſle, and Mr. Eden, appointed on this buſineſs attempted to open a negociation on the ſubject. They requeſted General Waſhington to furniſh a paſſport for their ſecretary, Dr. Ferguſon, with a letter from them to Congreſs, but this was refuſed, and the refuſal was unanimouſly approved by Congreſs. They then forwarded in the uſual channel of communication a letter addreſſed "to his Excellency Henry Laurens, the Preſident, and other the members of Congreſs," in which they communicated a copy of their commiſſion and of the acts of Parliament on which it was founded, and offered to concur in every ſatisfactory and juſt arrangement towards the following among other purpoſes:

To conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities, both by ſea and land.

To reſtore free intercourſe, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the ſeveral parts of this empire.

To extend every freedom to trade that our reſpective intereſts can require.

To agree that no military forces ſhall be kept up in the different ſtates of North-America, without the conſent of the General Congreſs or particular aſſemblies.

To concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different States, who ſhall have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or, if ſent from Britain, in that caſe to have a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of the different States to which they may be deputed reſpectively, in order to attend the ſeveral intereſts of thoſe by whom they are deputed.

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In ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment, and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government, ſo that the Britiſh ſtates throughout North-America, acting with us in peace and war under one common ſovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſts, or conſiſtent with that union of force, on which the ſafety of our common religion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the Britiſh commiſſioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. Preſident Laurens therefore, by order of Congreſs, returned the following anſwer:

I have received the letter from your Excellencies of the 9th inſtant, with the encloſures, and laid them before Congreſs. Nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expreſſions ſo diſreſpectful to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the good and great ally of theſe States; or to conſider propoſitions ſo derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

The acts of the Britiſh Parliament, the commiſſion from your ſovereign, and your letter, ſuppoſe the people of theſe States to be ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmiſſible.

I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congreſs are inclined to peace, notwithſtanding the unjuſt claims from which this war originated, and the ſavage manners in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the King of Great Britain ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe. The only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition will be, an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of theſe States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

Though

Though Congrefs could not, confiftently with national honour, enter on a difcuffion of the terms propofed by the Britifh commiffioners, yet fome individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among thefe Governor Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, juftified the decifive meafures adopted by their countrymen.

As the Britifh plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the States returning to their allegiance, it was no fooner known than rejected. In addition to the facred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaders in Congrefs and the legiflative affemblies of America had tafted the fweets of power, and were in full poffeffion of its bleffings, with a fair profpect of retaining them without any foreign control. The war having originated on the part of Great Britain from a luft of power, had in its progrefs compelled the Americans in felf-defence to affume and exercife its higheft prerogatives. The paffions of human nature which induced the former to claim power, operated no lefs forcibly with the latter, againft the relinquifhment of it. After the Colonies had declared themfelves Independent States, had repeatedly pledged their honour to abide by that declaration, had under the fmiles of Heaven maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid, after the greateft monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guarantied their independence ; after all this to expect popular leaders in the enjoyment of power voluntarily to retire from the helm of government to the languid indifference of private life, and while they violated national faith, at the fame time to deprefs their country from the rank of fovereign ftates to that of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to univerfal experience, than to the governing principles of the human heart. The high-fpirited ardour of citizens in the youthful vigour of honour and dignity did not fo much as inquire, whether greater political happinefs might be expected from clofing with the propofals of Great Britain, or by adhering to their new allies. Honour forbad any balancing on the fubject, nor were its dictates difobeyed ; though peace was defirable and the

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offers of Great Britain so liberal, that if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable, yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own solicitation obtained the aid of France, to desert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honour and gratitude. The folly of Great Britain in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realised that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the Congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to re-unite with Great Britain. The latter of these suppositions was true, till a certain period of the contest, but that period was elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the stile and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners, unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France, would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that by perseverance an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negociation with Congress, in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgement of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been

complied

complied with, it was resolved by Congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, Governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of Congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words:

DEAR SIR,

I BEG to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity and of the highest esteem, in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out.

The following answer was immediately written.

York Town, June 14th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

YESTERDAY I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn that gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, Sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end, terms from which, although writing in a private character,

character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that from the rage of war, the good people of these States shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, Sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty, but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were, when destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance—when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved, " to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these States," would be irrational.

At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these Sates agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence Congress to consent, that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me intreat you, my dear Sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

(Signed) HENRY LAURENS.

Philadelphia.

The Honourable Geo. Johnstone, Esq.

In

In a letter to Joseph Reed of April the 11th, Governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the King and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June he wrote to Robert Morris, "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives, but in all such transactions there is risk, and I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the President have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by Governor Johnstone, to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a re-union of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgement, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the Colonies in his Majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress ordered all letters, received by members of Congress from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the King of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, Congress resolved "That the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esquire, especially to negociate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons thereof, were expressed

in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the Prefident, and fent by a flag to the commiffioners of New-York. This was anfwered by Governor Johnftone by an angry publication, in which he denied or explained away what had been alledged againft him. Lord Carlifle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on Governor Johnftone.

The commiffioners failing in their attempts to negociate with Congrefs had no refource left, but to perfuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct counter to that of their reprefentatives. To this purpofe they publifhed a manifefto and proclamation, addreffed to Congrefs, the affemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of the Colonies, in which they obferved, "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to diftrefs a people ftill confidered as our fellow-fubjects, and to defolate a country fhortly to become a fource of mutual advantage: but when that country profeffes the unnatural defign not only of eftranging herfelf from us, but of mortgaging herfelf and her refources to our enemies, the whole conteft is changed, and the queftion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, deftroy or render ufelefs a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under fuch circumftances the laws of felf-prefervation muft direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the Britifh Colonies are to become an acceffion to France, will direct her to render the acceffion of as little avail as poffible to her enemy."

Congrefs, upon being informed of the defign of the commiffioners to circulate thefe papers, declared, that the agents employed to diftribute the manifeftoes and proclamation of the commiffioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They alfo recommended to the feveral States to fecure and keep them clofe in cuftody, but that they might not appear to hoodwink their conftituents, they ordered the manifeftoes and proclamation to be printed in the newfpapers. The propofals of the commiffioners were not more favourably received by the people

ple than they had been by Congreſs. In ſome places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered inſtantly to depart, in others they were received, and forwarded to Congreſs, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the Britiſh army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate, on the propriety of cloſing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the Britiſh from executing their threats of laying waſte the country, Congreſs publiſhed to the world a reſolution and manifeſto, in which they concluded with theſe words:

"We, therefore, the Congreſs of the United States of America, do ſolemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies preſume to execute their threats, or perſiſt in their preſent career of barbarity, we will take ſuch exemplary vengeance as ſhall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who ſearcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy preſence we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and haſty ſuggeſtion of anger and revenge, ſo through every poſſible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the laſt effort of Great Britain, in the way of negociation, to regain her Colonies. It originated in folly and ignorance of the real ſtate of affairs in America. She had begun with *wrong* meaſures, and had now got into *wrong* time. Her conceſſions, on this occaſion, were an implied juſtification of the reſiſtance of the Coloniſts. By offering to concede all that they at firſt aſked for, ſhe virtually acknowledged herſelf to have been the aggreſſor in an unjuſt war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendſhip of the new allies than this unſucceſsful negociation. The States had an opportunity of evincing the ſincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reaſon to believe that by preventing their being conquered, her favourite ſcheme of leſſening the power of Great Britain would be ſecured beyond the reach of accident.

After

After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the Britiſh army retired to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley-Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniencies which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half cloathed, and more than once on the point of ſtarving, were enduring the ſeverity of a cold winter in a hutted camp. It was well for them that the Britiſh made no attempt to diſturb them, while in this deſtitute condition.

The winter and ſpring paſſed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few ſucceſsful excurſions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpoſe of bringing in ſupplies, or deſtroying property. In one of theſe, a party of the Britiſh proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four ſtore-houſes full of uſeful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ſhips, ſix privateer ſloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of ſloops and ſchooners.

Soon after, an excurſion from Newport was made by 500 Britiſh and Heſſians, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell. Theſe having landed in the night, marched next morning in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for the head of Kickemuet River. They deſtroyed about 70 flat-bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar, and plank. They alſo ſet fire to the meeting-houſe at Warren, and ſeven dwelling-houſes. At Briſtol they burned the church and 22 houſes. Several other houſes were plundered, and women were ſtripped of their ſhoe-buckles, gold rings, and handkerchiefs.

May

A French ſquadron, commanded by Count D'Eſtaing, ſailed from Toulon for America, in about two months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the King of France. After a paſſage of 87 days, the Count arrived at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehenſion of ſomething of this kind, and from the proſpect of greater ſecurity, it was reſolved in Great Britain forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New-

April 1

July 9.

York. The commiſſioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter: it had an unfriendly influence on their propoſed negociations, but it was indiſpenſably neceſſary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans beſieged Philadelphia, the eſcape of the Britiſh from either would have been ſcarcely poſſible.

The royal army paſſed over the Delaware into New-Jerſey. General Waſhington, having penetrated into their deſign of evacuating Philadelphia, had previouſly detached Gen. Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with the Jerſey militia in obſtructing their progreſs, till time ſhould be given for his army to overtake them. The Britiſh were incumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in purſuit of the Britiſh, croſſed the Delaware, ſix hundred men were immediately detached under Col. Morgan to re-inforce Gen. Maxwell. Waſhington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the American army, being aſked by the commander in chief, "Will it be adviſeable to hazard a general action?" anſwered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of 1500 men to be immediately ſent to act as occaſion might ſerve on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott. When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allen-Town, he determined, inſtead of keeping the direct courſe towards Staten-Iſland, to draw towards the ſea coaſt, and to puſh on towards Sandy-Hook. Gen. Waſhington, on receiving intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth Court-houſe, diſpatched 1000 men under Gen. Wayne, and ſent the Marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to ſeize the firſt fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle againſt hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a pro-

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per diſtance, for ſupporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, ſenſible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light-infantry, and chaſſeurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front. Gen. Waſhington increaſed his advanced corps with two brigades, and ſent General Lee, who now wiſhed for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it ſupport. On the next morning orders were ſent to Lee to move on and attack, unleſs there ſhould be powerful reaſons to the contrary. When Waſhington had marched about five miles to ſupport the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any oppoſition of conſequence. Waſhington rode up to Lee and propoſed certain queſtions to him, which implied cenſure. Lee anſwered with warmth and unſuitable language. The commander in chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and Lieutenant-colonel Ramſay's battalions to form on a piece of ground which he judged ſuitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then aſked if he would command on that ground, to which he conſented, and was ordered to take proper meaſures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, "Your orders ſhall be obeyed, and I will not be the firſt to leave the field." Waſhington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmoſt expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the Britiſh and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the Britiſh army, and the two battalions which General Waſhington had halted. Theſe ſtood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the Britiſh army. Lieutenant-colonel Ramſay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken priſoner. General Lee continued till the laſt on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the Britiſh received, gave time to make a diſpoſition of the left wing and ſecond line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating: on this ſome cannon were placed

by

by Lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of ſome parties of infantry, effectual-ly ſtopped the advance of the Britiſh in that quarter. Gen. Greene took a very advantageous poſition on the right of Lord Sterling. The Britiſh attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulſed; they alſo made a movement to the right with as little ſucceſs, for Greene with artillery diſappointed their deſign. Wayne ad-vanced with a body of troops, and kept up ſo ſevere and well-directed a fire, that the Britiſh were ſoon compelled to give way. They retired and took the poſition which Lee had before occupied. Waſhington reſolved to attack them, and ordered Gen. Poor to move round upon their right, and Gen. Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach before it was dark. Theſe remain-ed on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for ſupporting them. General Waſh-ington repoſed himſelf in his cloak under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day; but theſe hopes were fruſtrated: the Britiſh troops marched away in the night, in ſuch ſilence, that General Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them four officers and about forty pri-vates; all ſo badly wounded, that they could not be re-moved; their other wounded were carried off. The Britiſh purſued their march without farther interruption, and ſoon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy-Hook, without the loſs of either their covering party or baggage. The American General declined all farther purſuit of the royal army, and ſoon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North River. The loſs of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 250. The loſs of the royal army, in-cluſive of priſoners, was about 350. Lieut. Col. Monck-ton, one of the Britiſh ſlain, on account of his ſingular merit, was univerſally lamented. Col. Bonner of Penn-ſylvania, and Major Dickenſon of Virginia, officers high-ly eſteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot

day,

day, brought on ſuch a fatal ſuppreſſion of the vital powers, that ſome of the Americans, and 59 of the Britiſh, were found dead on the field of battle without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable that Waſhington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expreſſions uſed by the former at their firſt meeting, and wrote him two paſſionate letters. This occaſioned his being arreſted and brought to trial. The charges exhibited againſt him were—1ſt. For diſobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June agreeable to repeated inſtructions.

2dly. For miſbehaviour before the enemy, on the ſame day, by making an unneceſſary, diſorderly, and ſhameful retreat.

3dly. For diſreſpect to the commander in chief in two letters.—After a tedious hearing before a court martial of which Lord Sterling was preſident, Lee was found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſuſpended from any command in the armies of the United States for the term of one year; but the ſecond charge was ſoftened by the court martial, who in their award only found him guilty of miſbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unneceſſary, and in ſome few inſtances a diſorderly retreat. Many were diſpleaſed with this ſentence. They argued, "That by the tenor of Lee's orders it was ſubmitted to his diſcretion, whether to attack or not, and alſo, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgement. That at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack, conſidering the ſuperiority of the Britiſh cavalry, and the openneſs of the ground, was very queſtionable. That though it might have diſtreſſed the enemy's rear in the firſt inſtance; it would probably have brought on a general action before the advanced corps could have been ſupported by the main body, which was ſome miles in the rear." "If," ſaid they, "Lee's judgement was againſt attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of diſobeying an order for that purpoſe, which was ſuſpended on the condition of his own approbation of the meaſure." They alſo agreed,

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that a fuſpenſion from command was not a ſufficient puniſhment for his crimes, if really guilty; they therefore inferred a preſumption of his innocence from the lenient ſentence of his judges. Though there was a diverſity of opinions relative to the firſt and ſecond charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of diſreſpect to the commander in chief. The Americans had formerly idoliſed General Lee, but ſome of them now went to the oppoſite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of theſe ſuſpicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of ſubordination had led him often to quarrel with thoſe whom he was bound to reſpect and obey: but his courage and fidelity could not be queſtioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took poſt at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kingſbridge, and the Britiſh, though only a few miles diſtant, did not moleſt them. They remained in this poſition from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middle-Brook in Jerſey, where they built themſelves huts in the ſame manner as they had done at Valley-Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the Britiſh from Philadelphia, Congreſs, after an abſence of nine months, returned to the former ſeat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon to give a public audience to a Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the Court of France. The perſon appointed to this office was M. Gerard, the ſame who had been employed in the negociations antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a Miniſter from France made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance to which they were riſen among nations. That the ſame ſpot, which in leſs than a century, had been the reſidence of ſavages, ſhould become the theatre on which the repreſentatives of a new, free, and civiliſed nation gave a public audience to a Miniſter Plenipotentiary, from one of the oldeſt and moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philoſophic contemplation. That in leſs than three years from

from the day on which an anſwer was refuſed by Great Britain to the united ſupplications of the Coloniſts, praying for peace, liberty, and ſafety, they ſhould, as an independent people, be honoured with the reſidence of a Miniſter from the Court of France, exceeded the expectation of the moſt ſanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds theſe tranſactions, with heart-felt ſatisfaction, while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſtationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and cloathed them in robes of ſovereignty.

The Britiſh had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New-York, when they received intelligence that the French fleet was on the coaſt of America. Count D'Eſtaing had with him twelve ſhips of the line and three frigates: among the former, one carried 90 guns, another 80, and ſix 74 guns each. Their firſt object was the ſurpriſe of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. In naval hiſtory there are few more narrow eſcapes than that of the Britiſh fleet on this occaſion. It conſiſted only of ſix 64 gun ſhips, three of 50, and two of 40, with ſome frigates and ſloops. Moſt of theſe had been long on ſervice and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was ſo greatly inferior, that had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware, after a leſs tedious paſſage, their capture, in the ordinary courſe of events, would have been inevitable. This ſtroke was providentially prevented, by the various hindrances which retarded D'Eſtaing in his voyage to the term of 87 days, in the laſt eleven of which, Lord Howe's fleet, not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of New-York. D'Eſtaing, diſappointed in his firſt ſcheme, purſued and appeared off Sandy-Hook. American pilots of the firſt abilities, provided for the purpoſe, went on board his fleet. Among them were perſons, whoſe circumſtances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

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The ſight of the French fleet raiſed all the active paſſions of their adverſaries. Tranſported with indignation againſt the French, for interfering in what they called a domeſtic quarrel, the Britiſh diſplayed a ſpirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thouſand volunteers were diſpatched from their tranſports to man their fleet. The maſters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New-York took their ſtations at the guns with the common ſailors. Others put to ſea in light veſſels to watch the motions of the enemies. The officers and privates of the Britiſh army contended with ſo much eagerneſs to ſerve on board the men of war as marines, that it became neceſſary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time the Britiſh had the mortification of ſeeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about 20 veſſels under Engliſh colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the Britiſh. They ſuppoſed that Count D'Eſtaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the conſequence. Every thing with them was at ſtake. Nothing leſs than deſtruction or victory would have ended the conteſt. If the firſt had been their lot, the vaſt fleet of tranſports and victuallers and the army muſt have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impoſſible to carry the large ſhips thereof over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Eſtaing on that account and by the advice of General Waſhington, left the Hook and ſailed for Newport. By his departure the Britiſh had a ſecond eſcape, for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron muſt have fallen into his hands. That officer had been ſent out to relieve Lord Howe who had ſolicited to be recalled, and the fleet under his command had been ſent to re-inforce that which had been previouſly on the coaſt of America. Admiral Byron's ſquadron had met with bad weather, and was ſeparated in different ſtorms. It now arrived, ſcattered, broken, ſickly,

diſmaſted

difmafted or otherwife damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the Renown, the Raifonable, the Centurion, and the Cornwall, arrived fingly at Sandy-Hook.

The next attempt of Count D'Eftaing was againft Rhode-Ifland, of which the Britifh had been in poffeffion fince December 1776. A combined attack againft it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan fhould command the American land forces. Such was the eagernefs of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and fo confident were they of fuccefs, that fome thoufands of volunteers engaged in the fervice. The militia of Maffachufetts was under the command of Gen. Hancock. The royal troops on the ifland having been lately re-inforced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 10,000. Lord Howe followed Count D'Eftaing, and came within fight of Rhode-Ifland the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of New-Port. The Britifh fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with refpect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of Lord Howe, the French Admiral put out to fea with his whole fleet to engage him; while the two commanders were exerting their naval fkill to gain refpectively the advantages of pofition, a ftrong gale of wind came on, which afterwards increafed to a tempeft, and greatly damaged the fhips on both fides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French fhips were difmafted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Eftaing's own fhip, after lofing all her mafts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded by Capt. Dawfon. The fame evening the Prefton of 50 guns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns, with only her mainmaft ftanding, and attacked her with fpirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six fail of the French fquadron came up in the night, which faved the difabled fhips from any farther attack. There was no fhip or veffel loft on either fide. The Britifh fuffered lefs in the ftorm than their adverfaries, yet enough to make it neceffary for them to return to New-York for the purpofe of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor on

the 20th, near to Rhode-Iſland, but ſailed on the 22d to Boſton. Before they ſailed, General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, to conſult on meaſures proper to be purſued. They urged D'Eſtaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were oppoſed to the meaſure, and proteſted againſt it. He had been inſtructed to go to Boſton, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers inſiſted on his ceaſing to proſecute the expedition againſt Rhode-Iſland, that he might conform to the orders of their common ſuperiors. Upon the return of General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Eſtaing, a proteſt was drawn up and ſent to him, which was ſigned by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezekiel Cornel, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, John Fitconnell. In this they proteſted againſt the Count's taking the fleet to Boſton, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the intereſt of his nation, and deſtructive in the higheſt degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Eſtaing proſecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the purſuit of Lord Howe, the reduction of the Britiſh poſt on Rhode-Iſland would have been probable, but his departure in the firſt inſtance to engage the Britiſh fleet, and in the ſecond from Rhode-Iſland to Boſton, fruſtrated the whole plan. Perhaps Count D'Eſtaing hoped by ſomething brilliant to efface the impreſſions made by his late failure at New-York: or he might have thought it imprudent to ſtake his whole fleet within an harbour poſſeſſed by his enemies.

After his ſhips had ſuffered both from battle and the ſtorm, the letter of his inſtructions, the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ſhips ſpeedily refitted, might have weighed with him to ſail directly for Boſton. Whatever were the reaſons which induced his adoption of that meaſure, the Americans were greatly diſſatisfied; they complained that they had incurred great

great expence and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation—that depending thereon, they had risqued their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger. That in this situation they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the regular army which remained was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan extricated himself with judgement and ability; he began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from the lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island—fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The Marquis de la Fayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this Count D'Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode-Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties, and on two roads, to one was opposed Col. Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, aid de camp to Gen. Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being re-inforced they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord

Lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton, and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode-Island. As the centries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the shew of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and mostly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it the Marquis de la Fayette returned from Boston; he had rode thither from Rhode-Island, a distance of near 70 miles in 7 hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring off the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army; this he did in excellent order, not a man was left behind him, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission, of Lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode-Island on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing " his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer on him, and of the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore intreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of Lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour.'

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With the abortive expedition to Rhode-Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of Congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds, that his most Christian Majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good-will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured Count D'Estaing, but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operations.

Sir Henry Clinton finding that the Americans had left Rhode-Island, returned to New-York, but directed Gen. Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination the General's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about 70 sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharfs, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The buildings burned in Bedford were estimated to be worth 20,000l. sterling. The other articles destroyed were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's Vineyard; there they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen, and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

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A similar expedition under the command of Capt. Ferguson was about the same time undertaken against Little

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Egg-

Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and alſo ſome ſalt-works. Several of the veſſels got off, but all that were found were deſtroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the Britiſh from Egg-Harbour for New-York, Captain Ferguſon, with 250 men, ſurpriſed and put to death about fifty of a party of the Americans, who were poſted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh in theſe ſeveral excurſions was trifling, but the advantage was conſiderable, from the ſupplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the moſt diſaſtrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the ſurpriſe and maſſacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieut. Col. Baylor. While employed in a detached ſituation, to intercept and watch a Britiſh foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which ſurpriſed them was Major-general Grey; he acquired the name of the "No-flint General," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muſkets, that they might be confined to the uſe of their bayonets. A party of militia which had been ſtationed on the road, by which the Britiſh advanced, quitted their poſt, without giving any notice to Col. Baylor. This diſorderly conduct was the occaſion of the diſaſter which followed. Grey's men proceeded with ſuch ſilence and addreſs, that they cut off a ſerjeant's patrol without noiſe, and ſurrounded old Taapan without being diſcovered; they then ruſhed in upon Baylor's regiment while they were in a profound ſleep. Incapable of defence or reſiſtance, cut off from every proſpect of ſelling their lives dear, the ſurpriſed dragoons ſued for quarters. Unmoved by their ſupplications, their adverſaries applied the bayonet and continued its repeated thruſts, while objects could be found in which any ſigns of life appeared. A few eſcaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the

the body, were reſtored, in a courſe of time, to perfect health. Baylor himſelf was wounded, but not dangerouſly: he loſt, in killed, wounded, and taken, 67 privates out of 104; about 40 were made priſoners. Theſe were indebted for their lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his ſuperior officers. The circumſtance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor diſcipline can be obſerved, may apologiſe in ſome degree, with men of a certain deſcription for this bloody ſcene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarters ſhould be given in ſimilar aſſaults, but the lovers of mankind muſt ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of ſuperior obligation to thoſe of war. The truly brave will ſpare when reſiſtance ceaſes, and in every caſe where it can be done with ſafety. The perpetrators of ſuch actions may juſtly be denominated the enemies of refined ſociety. As far as their example avails, it tends to arreſt the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbariſm of Gothic ages. On theſe principles, the maſſacre of Col. Baylor's regiment was the ſubject of much complaint; the particulars of it were aſcertained, by the oaths of ſundry credible witneſſes, taken before Governor Livingſton of Jerſey, and the whole was ſubmitted to the judgement of the public.

In the ſummer of this year, an expedition was undertaken againſt Eaſt-Florida. This was reſolved upon with the double view of protecting the ſtates of Georgia from depredation, and of cauſing a diverſion. Gen. Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the States of South-Carolina and Georgia; they proceeded as far as St. Mary's River, and without any oppoſition of conſequence. At this place, the Britiſh had erected a fort, which, in compliment to Toyn, Governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of Gen. Howe, they deſtroyed this fort, and after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhing, retreated towards St. Auguſtine. The ſeaſon was more

fatal

ſatal to the Americans than any oppoſition they experienced from their enemies. Sickneſs and death raged to ſuch a degree that an immediate retreat became neceſſary ; but before this was effected, they loſt nearly one fourth of their whole number.

The royal commiſſioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to reſume the character of Britiſh ſubjects, and the ſucceſſive plans of co-operation between the new allies having alſo failed, a ſolemn pauſe enſued. It would ſeem as if the commiſſioners indulged a hope that the citizens of the United States, on finding a diſappointment of their expectation from the French, would re-conſider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifeſto, and for obſerving its effects on the public mind, but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a cloſe before any intereſting expedition was undertaken. With this new æra, a new ſyſtem was introduced. Hitherto the conqueſt of the States had been attempted by proceeding from north to ſouth : but that order was henceforth inverted, and the ſouthern States became the principal theatre on which the Britiſh conducted their offenſive operations. Georgia being one of the weakeſt States in the union, and at the ſame time abounding in proviſions, was marked out as the firſt object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, embarked from New-York for Savannah, with a force of about 2000 men, under the convoy of ſome ſhips of war commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker. To make more ſure of ſucceſs in the enterpriſe, Major Gen. Prevoſt, who commanded the royal forces in Eaſt-Florida, was directed to advance with them into the ſouthern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that ſailed from New-York in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing place a narrow cauſeway of ſix hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each ſide, led through a ſwamp. A body of the Britiſh light infantry moved forward along this cauſeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire from a ſmall party

party under Captain Smith, poſted for the purpoſe of impeding their paſſage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the Britiſh made their way good, and compelled Captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his ſtation on the main road, and poſted his little army, conſiſting of about 600 continentals and a few hundred militia, between the landing place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a moraſs in front. This diſpoſition announced great difficulties to be overcome before the Americans could be diſlodged. While Colonel Campbell was making the neceſſary arrangements for this purpoſe, he received intelligence from a negro of a private path through the ſwamp on the right of the Americans, which lay in ſuch a ſituation that the Britiſh troops might march through it unobſerved. Sir James Baird with the light infantry was directed to avail himſelf of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack their rear. As ſoon as it was ſuppoſed that Sir James Baird had cleared his paſſage, the Britiſh in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himſelf attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The Britiſh purſued with great execution: their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and ſtores, the ſhipping in the river, a large quantity of proviſions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the ſpace of a few hours, in the poſſeſſion of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for ſeveral miles, and then took ſhelter by croſſing into South-Carolina. Agreeably to inſtructions, General Prevoſt had marched from Eaſt-Florida about the ſame time that the embarkation took place from New-York. After encountering many difficulties, the King's troops from St. Auguſtine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and ſucceſs of Colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury ſurrendered. General Prevoſt marched to Savannah, and took the command of the com-

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bined forces from New-York and St. Auguſtine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been iſſued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and ſubmit to the conquerors, with promiſes of protection, on condition that with their arms they would ſupport royal government.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in ſecuring the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants. He did more in a ſhort time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh intereſt, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military oppoſition, but ſubverted for ſome time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-eſtabliſhment of a royal legiſlature. Georgia ſoon after the reduction of its capital exhibited a ſingular ſpectacle. It was the only ſtate of the union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legiſlative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell were more ſucceſsful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former conſtitution, than the ſevere meaſures which had been generally adopted by other Britiſh commanders.

The errors of the firſt years of the war forced on Congreſs ſome uſeful reforms, in the year 1778. The inſufficiency of the proviſion, made for the ſupport of the officers of their army, had induced the reſignation of between two and three hundred of them, to the great injury of the ſervice. From a conviction of the juſtice and policy of making commiſſions valuable, and from reſpect to the warm, but diſintereſted recommendations of General Waſhington, Congreſs reſolved, "That half-pay ſhould be allowed to their officers, for the term of ſeven years, after the expiration of their ſervice." This was afterwards extended to the end of their lives; and finally it was commuted for full pay for five years. Reſignations were afterwards rare, and the States reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in ſervice, till the war was ended.

A ſyſtem of more regular diſcipline was introduced into the American army, by the induſtry, abilities, and judicious

judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben a moſt excel- lent diſciplinarian, who had ſerved under the King of Pruſſia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to diſcharge the directing and purveying buſineſs of the military hoſpitals, which had been before united in the ſame hands. Dr. Ruſh was principally inſtrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations, which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were aboliſhed.

1778

A few detached events, which could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative of the great events of the campaign, ſhall cloſe this chapter.

Captain James Willing, in the ſervice of the United States, arrived with a few men from Fort Pitt, at the Natches, a Britiſh ſettlement in Weſt-Florida. He ſent out parties, who, without any reſiſtance, made the inhabitants priſoners. Articles of agreement were entered into between them and Captain Willing, by which they promiſed to obſerve a neutrality in the preſent conteſt, and in return it was engaged, that their property ſhould be unmoleſted.

Feb. 19.

The Randolph, an American frigate of 36 guns and 305 men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having ſailed on a cruiſe from Charleſton, fell in with the Yarmouth of 64 guns, and engaged her in the night. In about a quarter of an hour the Randolph blew up. Four men only were ſaved, upon a piece of her wreck. Theſe had ſubſiſted for four days on nothing but rain water, which they ſucked from a piece of blanket. On the 5th day, Captain Vincent of the Yarmouth, though in chaſe of a ſhip, on diſcovering them, ſuſpended the chaſe and took them on board. Captain Biddle, who periſhed on board the Randolph, was univerſally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future uſefulneſs to his country, as a bold and ſkilful naval officer.

Mar. 7.

Major Talbot took the Britiſh ſchooner Pigot, of 8 twelve pounders, as ſhe lay on the eaſtern ſide of Rhode-

Oct. 29.

Iſland.

Iſland. The Major, with a number of troops on board a ſmall veſſel, made directly for the Pigot in the night, and ſuſtaining the fire of her marines, reſerved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore-ſhrouds. He then fired ſome cannon, and threw in a volley of muſquetry, loaded with bullets and buck-ſhot, and immediately boarded her. The Captain made a gallant reſiſtance, but he was not ſeconded by his crew. Major Talbot ſoon gained undiſturbed poſſeſſion, and carried off his prize in ſafety. Congreſs, as a reward of his merit, preſented him with the commiſſion of Lieutenant-colonel.

CHAP. XVII.

Campaign of 1779.

THROUGHOUT the year 1779, the Britiſh ſeem to have aimed at little more, in the States to the northward of Carolina, than diſtreſs and depredation. Having publicly announced their reſolution of making "The Colonies of as little avail as poſſible to their new connections," they planned ſundry expeditions on this principle.

One of theſe, conſiſting of both naval and land force, was committed to Sir George Collyer and General Mathews, who made a deſcent on Virginia. They failed for Portſmouth, and on their arrival took poſſeſſion of that defenceleſs town. The remains of Norfolk on the oppoſite ſide of the river, fell of courſe into their hands. The Americans burned ſome of their own veſſels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The Britiſh guards marched 18 miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning proceeded to the deſtruction of veſſels, naval ſtores, and of a large magazine of proviſions, which had been depoſited in that place. A ſimilar deſtruction was carried on at Kemp's-Landing, Shepherds-Goſport, Tanners-Creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed veſſels were employed on the ſame buſineſs

neſs along the margin of the rivers. Three thouſand hogſheads of tobacco were taken at Portſmouth. Every houſe in Suffolk was burnt except the church and one dwelling houſe. The houſes of ſeveral private gentlemen in the country ſhared the ſame fate. Above 130 veſſels were either deſtroyed or taken. All that were upon the ſtocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ſhips, was either carried off or deſtroyed. The fleet and army, after demoliſhing Fort Nelſon and ſetting fire to the ſtore-houſes, and other public buildings in the dockyard at Goſport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty ſafe to New York, in the ſame month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia diſtreſſed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the Britiſh forces, but was of no real ſervice to the royal cauſe. It was preſumed, that by involving the citizens in loſſes and diſtreſſes, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of ſubmitting to a power, againſt which they had not the means of defending themſelves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to theſe views. Such was the high-toned ſtate of the American mind, that property had comparatively loſt its value. It was faſhionable to ſuffer in the cauſe of independence; ſome hearty Whigs gloried in their loſſes, with as much pride as others gloried in their poſſeſſions. The Britiſh ſuppoſing the Americans to be influenced, by the conſiderations which bias men in the languid ſcenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the ſacrifices which enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm is willing to make, proceeded in their ſchemes of diſtreſs: but the more extenſively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more obſtacles they created to the re-union of the empire. In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a ſimilar one was projected againſt the expoſed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this buſineſs, and he was ſupported by General Garth. The tranſports which conveyed theſe troops, were covered by a ſuitable number of armed veſſels, commanded by Sir George Collyer. They proceeded from July

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New-York by the way of Hell-Gate, and landed at Eaſt-Haven. The royal commanders made an addreſs to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promiſed protection to all who ſhould remain peaceably in their uſual place of reſidence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It alſo ſtated " that their property lay ſtill within the graſp of that power, whoſe lenity had perſiſted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the moſt unworthy imputation. That the exiſtence of a ſingle houſe on their defenceleſs coaſt, ought to be a conſtant reproof of their ingratitude. That they who lay ſo much in the Britiſh power, afforded a ſtriking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to ſet the firſt example of returning to their allegiance."

One of the many addreſſes, from which the above extract is taken, was ſent by a flag to Colonel Whiting of the militia near Fairfield. The Colonel was allowed an hour for his anſwer, but he had ſcarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheleſs returned the following anſwer, " Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms againſt the cruel deſpotiſm of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the anſwer to your flag, they will perſiſt to oppoſe to the utmoſt, the power exerted againſt injured innocence." The Britiſh marched from their landing to New-Haven. The town on their entering it was delivered up to promiſcuous plunder, a few inſtances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were ſtripped of their houſhold furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water ſide was covered with feathers, which were diſcharged from opened beds. An aged citizen, who laboured under a natural inability of ſpeech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every ſpecies of enormity, but that of burning houſes, the invaders ſuddenly re-imbarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity poſted themſelves at the court-houſe green, and gave conſiderable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but ſoon retreated to the height back of the town. On the approach of the Britiſh the town was evacuated

evacuated by moſt of its inabitants. A few women remained with the view of ſaving their property. They imagined that their ſex would protect them; they alſo repoſed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeneſs, but they bitterly repented their preſumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deſerted houſes of the inhabitants, broke open deſks, trunks, cloſets, and cheſts, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. They abuſed them with the fouleſt language, threatened their lives, and preſented the bayonets to their breaſts. A ſucking infant was plundered of part of its cloathing, while the bayonet was preſented to the breaſt of its mother. Towards evening they began to burn the houſes, which they had previouſly plundered. The women begged General Tryon to ſpare the town. Mr. Sayre, the epiſcopal miniſter, who had ſuffered for his attachment to the royal cauſe, joined the women in their requeſts, but their joint ſupplications were diſregarded. They then begged that a few houſes might be ſpared for a general ſhelter. This was at firſt denied, but at length Tryon conſented to ſave the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot. and alſo ſaid, that the houſes for public worſhip ſhould be ſpared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard, conſiſting of German yaugers, ſet fire to every thing which Tryon had ſpared, but on their departure the inhabitants extinguiſhed the flames, and ſaved ſome of the houſes. The militia were joined by numbers from the country which ſucceſſively came to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual oppoſition.

The Britiſh in this excurſion, alſo burned Eaſt-Haven, and the greateſt part of Green's farms, and the flouriſhing town of Norwalk. A conſiderable number of ſhips, either finiſhed or on the ſtocks, with whale boats and a large amount of ſtores and merchandiſe, were deſtroyed. Particular accounts of theſe devaſtations were, in a ſhort time, tranſmitted by authority to Congreſs. By theſe it appeared that there were burnt at Norwalk

two

two houſes of public worſhip, 80 dwelling houſes, 87 barns, 22 ſtores, 17 ſhops, 4 mills, and 5 veſſels; and at Fairfield two houſes of public worſhip, 15 dwelling houſes, 11 barns, and ſeveral ſtores. There were at the ſame time a number of certificates tranſmitted to General Waſhington, in which ſundry perſons of veracity bore witneſs on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine, and cruelty, committed on aged perſons, women, and priſoners. Congreſs, on receiving ſatisfactory atteſtation of the ravages of the Britiſh in this and other ſimilar expeditions, reſolved, "To direct their marine committee to take the moſt effectual meaſures to carry into execution their manifeſto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or deſtroying the towns belonging to the enemy in Great Britain or the Weſt-Indies;" but their reſolve was never carried into effect.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of love and attachment to the Britiſh nation, felt the keeneſt ſenſations of regret, when they contraſted the years 1759 and 1779. The former was their glory, when in the days of their youth, they were diſpoſed to boaſt of the honours of their common country, but the latter filled them with diſtreſs, not only for what they ſuffered, but for the degradation of a country they revered as the natal ſoil of their forefathers. The one ennobled the Britiſh name with the conqueſt of Crown-Point, Oſwego, Montreal, Quebec, and the whole province of Canada. The other was remarkable only for the burning of magazines, ſtore-houſes, dock-yards, the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, and for the general diſtreſs of a defenceleſs peaſantry.

The fires and deſtruction which accompanied this expedition, were ſeverely cenſured by the Americans, and apologiſed for by the Britiſh in a very unſatisfactory manner. The latter in their vindication alledged, that the houſes which they had burned gave ſhelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occaſions concealed their retreat.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general, undertook the juſtification of the meaſure on principles of

of policy. "I ſhould be very ſorry," ſaid he, "if the deſtruction of theſe villages would be thought leſs reconcileable with humanity, than the love of my country, my duty to the King, and the laws of arms. The uſurpers have profeſſedly placed their hopes of ſevering the empire in avoiding deciſive actions—upon the waſte of the Britiſh treaſures, and upon the eſcape of their own property during the protracting of the war. Their power is ſupported by the general dread of their tyranny and threats, practiſed to inſpire a credulous multitude with a preſumptuous confidence in our forbearance; I wiſh to detect this deluſion." Theſe devaſtations were the ſubject of an elegant poem, written on the ſpot a few days after by Colonel Humphries.

While the Britiſh were proceeding in theſe deſolating operations, General Waſhington was called upon for continental troops, but he could ſpare very few. He durſt not detach largely, as he apprehended that one deſign of the Britiſh in theſe movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from Weſt Point, to favour an intended attack on that important poſt. General Parſons, though cloſely connected with Connecticut, and though from his ſmall force he was unable to make ſucceſsful oppoſition to the invaders, yet inſtead of preſſing General Waſhington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The Britiſh may probably diſtreſs the country exceedingly by the ravages they will commit, but I would rather ſee all the towns on the coaſt of my country in flames, than that the enemy ſhould poſſeſs Weſt Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they ſuffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, 120 miles in extent, would ſuffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The ſeaſon of the year added much to their difficulties, as the cloſe attention of the farmers to their harveſting could not be omitted without hazarding their ſubſiſtence. Theſe fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the Britiſh troops, an order was iſſued for their immediate return to New-York. This they effected in a ſhort time,

and

and with a loſs ſo inconſiderable, that in the whole expedition it did not exceed 150 men.

While the Britiſh were ſucceſsfully making theſe deſultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their ſuperior marine force, the command of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make deſcents where they pleaſed, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had General Waſhington divided his army, conformably to the wiſhes of the invaded citizens, he would have ſubjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to riſque no more by way of covering the country than was conſiſtent with the general ſafety.

His army was poſted at ſome diſtance from Britiſh head quarters in New-York, and on both ſides of the North-River. The advance thereof, conſiſting of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, under the command of Colonel Anthony Walton White, patroled conſtantly, for ſeveral months, in front of the Britiſh lines, and kept a conſtant watch on the Sound and on the North-River. This corps had ſundry ſkirmiſhes with parties of the Britiſh, and was particularly uſeful in checking their excurſions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, General Putnam, who had been ſtationed with a reſpectable command at Reading in Connecticut, when on a viſit to his out-poſt at Horſe-Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field pieces without horſes or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-houſe, and by ſeveral fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make oppoſition till he perceived the enemy's horſe, ſupported by the infantry, were about to charge. Gen. Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their ſafety, by retiring to a ſwamp inacceſſible to horſe, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is ſo ſteep as to have artificial ſtairs, com-

poſed

posed of nearly one hundred ftone fteps, for the accommodation of foot paffengers. The dragoons ftopped fhort, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach; of the many balls that were fired at him, all miffed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having ftrengthened his picket with fome militia, faced about and purfued Governor Tryon on his return.

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was diftinguifhed by one of the moft gallant enterprifes which took place in the courfe of the war. This was the capture of Stoney Point on the North-River. Gen. Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprife, fet out at the head of a ftrong detachment of the moft active infantry in the American army at noon, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The General, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half paft eleven the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, confifting of 150 volunteers under the command of Lieut. Colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded mufkets, and fixed bayonets. Thefe were preceded by 20 picked men, who were particularly inftructed to remove the abbatis and other obftructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded mufkets and fixed bayonets. It was alfo preceded by a fimilar forlorn hope. The General placed himfelf at the head of the right column, and gave the moft pointed orders not to fire, but to depend folely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to oppofite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrifon by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended: the works were defended by a deep morafs, which was alfo, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morafs, the double row of abbatis, nor the ftrength of the works, damped the ardour

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of the aſſailants. In the face of a moſt tremendous fire of muſketry, and of cannón loaded with grape-ſhot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obſtacle, until both columns met in the center of the works at nearly the ſame inſtant. General Wayne, as he paſſed the laſt abbatis, was wounded in the head by a muſket ball, but nevertheleſs inſiſted on being carried forward, adding as a reaſon for it, " That if he died he wiſhed it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, eſcaped unhurt, although the firſt loſt 17 men out of 20, and the laſt nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to 98. The killed of the garriſon were 63, and the number of their priſoners 543. Two flags, two ſtandards, 15 pieces of ordnance, and a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and ſpirit with which this enterpriſe was conducted, was matter of triumph to the Americans. Congreſs gave their thanks to General Waſhington, " For the vigilance, wiſdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, and which were, among many other ſignal inſtances, manifeſted in his orders for the above enterpriſe." They alſo gave thanks to General Wayne, and ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be ſtruck, and one of gold to be preſented to him. They directed a ſilver one to be preſented to Lieut. Col. Fleury, and alſo to Major Stewart. At the ſame time, they paſſed general reſolutions in honour of the officers and men, but particularly deſignating Lieut. Col. Fleury, Major Stewart, Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox: to the two latter, and alſo to Mr. Archer, the General's volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of Captain. The clemency ſhewn to the vanquiſhed was univerſally applauded. The cuſtom of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garriſon to the ſword; but the aſſailants, no leſs generous than brave, ceaſed to deſtroy as ſoon as their adverſaries ceaſed to reſiſt. Upon the capture of Stoney Point, the victors turned its artillery

lery againſt Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with ſuch effect, that the ſhipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As ſoon as the news of theſe events reached New-York, preparations were inſtantly made to relieve the latter poſt and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of General Waſhington, to riſque an engagement for either or for both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and ſtores, deſtroyed the works, and evacuated the captured poſt. Sir Henry Clinton regained poſſeſſion of Stoney-Point, on the third day after its capture, and placed it in a ſtrong garriſon.

The ſucceſsful enterpriſe of the Americans at Stoney-Point was ſpeedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldneſs of deſign. This was the ſurpriſe of the Britiſh garriſon at Powles-Hook, oppoſite to New-York, which was effected by Major Lee with about 350 men. Major Sutherland the commandant, with a number of Heſſians, got off ſafe to a ſmall block-houſe on the left of the fort, but about 30 of his men were killed and 160 taken priſoners. The loſs of the Americans was inconſiderable. Major Lee, in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to deſtroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congreſs honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair, to be ſtruck, and preſented to him as a reward "for his prudence, addreſs, and bravery." They alſo paſſed reſolutions applauding his humanity, and expreſſing their high ſenſe of the good conduct of his troops, and at the ſame time ordered a conſiderable donative in money to be diſtributed among them.

Theſe advantages were more than counterbalanced, by an unſucceſsful attempt made by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts on a Britiſh poſt at Penobſcot. Col. Macleane, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, landed with a detachment of 650 men from Halifax, on the banks of Penobſcot River, in the eaſtern confines of New-England, and proceeded ſoon after to conſtruct a fort in a well-choſen ſituation. This occaſioned an alarm at Boſton: to

counteract

counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors, might be secured for an expedition, which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for 40 days was laid by the state of Massachusetts on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of 18 armed vessels besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of Com. Saltonstal. The largest vessel in this fleet was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces, commanded by Gen. Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the 25th of July, the American fleet, consisting of 37 sail, appeared off Penobscot. Col. Macleane had four days before gained information of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched: the remaining two were in no part above 4 or 5 feet high; the ditch was only about 3 feet deep; there was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American General on his landing summoned the Colonel to surrender, which being refused, he proceeded to erect a battery at the distance of 750 yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparation for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, Sir George Collyer appeared full in view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy-Hook on hearing of the intended attack on Col. Macleane's party, and in about 11 days arrived in the River Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the Raisonable of 64 guns and five frigates. The Americans at first made a shew of resistance, but they intended no more than to give the transports time to move up the river that the troops might have an opportunity of landing and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the Raisonable was irresistible and the escape of the Americans was impracticable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase

chaſe on the other, took place. Sir George deſtroyed and took 17 or 18 armed veſſels. The American ſoldiers and ſailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

While the war languiſhed as to great objects in the country where it originated, it was raging on a new element, and involving diſtant countries in its wide-ſpreading flame. Hoſtilities between the fleets of France and Great Britain were carrying on in both the Indies and in the European ſeas, as well as on the coaſt of America. His moſt Catholic Majeſty was alſo, about this time, induced to take a decided part with France againſt Great Britain.

To the ſurpriſe of many, the Marquis D'Almodovar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, delivered a manifeſto to Lord Viſcount Weymouth, amounting to a declaration of war againſt Great Britain. This event had often been predicted by the minority in the Britiſh Parliament, but diſbelieved by the Miniſtry. The latter reaſoned "that Spain could have no intereſt in joining their adverſaries.—That ſhe had colonies of her own, and could not ſet ſo bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans. It was alſo ſaid that Spain was naturally attached to Great Britain, and unable to enter into war. They were ſo far impoſed upon by their eagerneſs to effect the conqueſt of the United States as to believe that to be true which they wiſhed to be ſo. The event proved that the politics of ſovereign powers are not reducible to fixed principles. Sometimes one intereſt claſhes with another, and it is not always the caſe that the ſtrongeſt preponderates. Whether the influence of the French councils, or the proſpect of recovering Gibraltar, Jamaica, and the two Floridas, or the preſſure of recent injuries, determined the Court of Spain to adopt this meaſure, it is impoſſible with certainty to decide, but circumſtances make it probable that the hope of regaining Gibraltar and Jamaica was the principle inducement.

The ſituation of Great Britain was at this time truly diſtreſſing. She was weakened and diſtracted in a domeſtic conteſt, in which victory produced no advantages,

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but defeat all its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revolted Colonies, though without foreign aid, was doubtful, she was suddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war with one of the greatest powers in Europe. At this very time while she was engaged in this double warfare, against old friends and old enemies, his most Catholic Majesty added his force to that of her numerous foes.

In this situation a dereliction of the American war was recommended by some leading characters in the nation, but every proposition of that kind was over-ruled, and assurances from both Houses of Parliament were given to his Majesty "to support him in carrying on the war against all his enemies."

From these events, which only affected the United States as far as they increased the embarrassments of Great Britain, I return to relate the transactions which took place within their own limits. In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than distress or depredation in the northern States, the re-establishment of British government was seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the King's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous re-inforcement from East Florida, and the whole was put under the command of Major Gen. Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent States. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia or South-Carolina, and scarce any in North-Carolina, as during the late transquillity in the southern States, they had been detached to serve in the main army commanded by Gen. Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North-Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South-Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, Gen. Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South-Carolina, was appointed by Congress to take the command of their southern army.

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This confifted only of a few hundred continentals. To fupply the deficiency of regular foldiers, a confiderable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience neceffary for military operations. Accuftomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly fubmitted to martial difcipline. The royal army at Savannah being re-inforced by the junction of the troops from St. Auguftine, was in condition to extend their pofts. The firft object was to take poffeffion of Port-Royal, in South-Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, being detached with this view, landed on the ifland, but Gen. Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular foldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well ferved by a party of Charleftown militia artillery. The Britifh loft almoft all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed and 22 wounded; among the former, was Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of diftinguifhed virtue, whofe early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief fupport. He was the firft officer of South-Carolina who loft his life in fupporting its independence. This repulfe reftrained the Britifh from attempting any immediate enterprife to the northward of Savannah, but they fixed pofts at Ebenezer and Augufta, and extended themfelves over a great part of Georgia; they alfo endeavoured to ftrengthen themfelves by re-inforcements from the Tories, in the weftern fettlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emiffaries were fent among the inhabitants of that defcription, to encourage them to a general infurrection. They were affured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the King's army in Georgia, they would have fuch a decided fuperiority as would make a fpeedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendez-

voufed.

voufed, and fet off to join the royal forces at Augufta. Among thofe who called themfelves loyalifts, there were many of the moft infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more folicitous for booty, than for the honour and intereft of their royal mafter. At every period before the war, the weftern wildernefs of thefe States, which extended to the Miffiffippi, afforded an afylum for the idle or diforderly, who difrelifhed the reftraints of civil fociety. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes, contributed much to the peopling of thofe remote fettlements, by holding out profpects of exemption from the controul of government. Among thefe people the royal emiffaries had fuccefsfully planted the ftandard of royalty, and of that clafs was a great proportion of thofe, who, in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themfelves the King's friends. They had no fooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal army at Augufta, than they commenced fuch a fcene of plundering of the defencelefs fettlements through which they paffed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppofe them. Col. Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately purfued and came up with them near Kettle-Creek. An action took place, which lafted three quarters of an hour; the Tories were totally routed, about forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader, Col. Boyd, who had been fecretly employed by Britifh authority to collect and head them. By this action the Britifh were difconcerted; the Tories were difperfed, fome ran quite off, others went to their homes, and caft themfelves on the mercy of their country. Thefe were tried by the laws of South-Carolina, for offending againft an act called the fedition act, which had been paffed fince the revolution for the fecurity of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the fentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the Britifh extended their pofts on the Georgia fide of Savannah river, Gen. Lincoln fixed encampments at Black-Swamp, and nearly oppofite to Augufta on the Carolina

fide.

ſide. From theſe poſts he formed a plan of croſſing into Georgia, with the view of limiting the Britiſh to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this deſign, Gen. Aſh, with 1500 North-Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, after croſſing the river Savannah, took a poſition on Briar-Creek; but in a few days he was ſurpriſed by Lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, who having made a circuitous march of about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with about 900 men. The militia were thrown into confuſion, and fled at the firſt fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and 162 were taken. Few had any chance of eſcaping, but by croſſing the Savannah, in attempting which many were drowned. Of thoſe who got off ſafe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp did not exceed 450 men. The few continentals under Col. Elbert made a brave reſiſtance, but the ſurvivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at laſt compelled to ſurrender. This event deprived Gen. Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the Britiſh, the Indians, and the Tories of North and South-Carolina.

Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were ſubject to thoſe reverſes of fortune, which uſually attend young ſoldiers. Unacquainted with military ſtratagems, deficient in diſcipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often ſurpriſed, and had to learn by repeated misfortunes the neceſſity of ſubordination, and the advantages of watchfulneſs and diſcipline. Their numbers in the field, to thoſe who are acquainted with European wars, muſt appear inconſiderable, but ſuch is the difference of the ſtate of ſociety and of the population in the old and new world, that in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with thoſe, which in Europe could have called into the field as many thouſands. The prize contended for was nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of three millions of people, and of five hundred millions of acres of land, and yet from the remote ſituation of the invading powers, and the thin population of the invaded States, eſ-

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pecially in the ſouthern extreme of the union, this momentous queſtion was materially affected by the conſequences of battles, in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The ſeries of diſaſters which had followed the American arms ſince the landing of the Britiſh near Savannah, occaſioned well-founded apprehenſion for the ſafety of the adjacent States. The militia of South-Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raiſed. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almoſt unanimous vote, and in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome inveſted, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the center of the ſtate, that they might be in conſtant readineſs to march whitherſoever public ſervice required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was reſumed; part of the American force was ſtationed on the north ſide of the Savannah at Purryſburgh and Black-Swamp, while General Lincoln and the main army croſſed into Georgia near Auguſta. General Prevoſt availed himſelf of the critical moment, when the American army had aſcended 150 miles towards the ſource of the Savannah, and croſſed into Carolina over the ſame river near to its mouth, with about 2400 men. A conſiderable body of Indians, whoſe friendſhip the Britiſh had previouſly ſecured, were aſſociated with the Britiſh on this expedition. The ſuperior Britiſh force which croſſed Savannah river ſoon compelled General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South-Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of theſe movements, detached 300 of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, but proceeded with the main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to purſue his original intention, from an idea that Gen. Prevoſt meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina, and becauſe his marching down on the ſouth ſide of the river Savannah would occaſion very little additional delay in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found

found that Prevoſt was ſeriouſly puſhing for Charleſtown, he re-croſſed the Savannah and purſued him. The Britiſh proceeded in their march by the main road near the ſea-coaſt, with but little oppoſition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charleſtown. Gen. Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Inſtead of his receiving re-inforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia who went to their homes; their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The abſence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devaſtations of the invaders, and above all, the dread of the Indian ſavages which accompanied the royal army, diffuſed a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a ſource of terror to another. From the influence of theſe cauſes, many were induced to apply for Britiſh protection. New converts to the royal ſtandard endeavoured to ingratiate themſelves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charleſtown. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They repreſented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wiſhing for peace at all events. They alſo ſtated that Charleſtown was incapable of much reſiſtance. Theſe circumſtances combined with the facility with which the Britiſh marched through the country, induced Gen. Prevoſt to extend his plan and puſh for Charleſtown. Had he deſigned it at firſt, and continued his march with the ſame rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probable have been carried by a coup-de-main, but he halted two or three days when advanced near half the diſtance. In that interval, every preparation was made by the South-Carolinians for the defence of their capital; all the houſes in its ſuburbs were burnt; lines and abbatis were, in a few days, carried acroſs the peninſula between Aſhley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this viſit

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of the Britiſh, and eſpecially an attack on the land ſide, was unexpected, yet in a few days great preparations were made, and a force of 3300 men aſſembled in Charleſtown for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the Britiſh army, being left on the ſouth ſide of Aſhley river, an advanced 1. detachment of 900 men croſſed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was marching on as faſt as poſſible, for the relief of Charleſtown, but as his arrival was doubtful, and the criſis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of conſequence. A whole day was therefore ſpent in the exchange of flags. Commiſſioners from the garriſon were inſtructed "to propoſe a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America, and that the queſtion whether the State ſhall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between theſe powers. The Britiſh commanders refuſed this advantageous offer, alledging that they did not come in a legiſlative capacity, and inſiſted that, as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war. This being refuſed, the garriſon prepared for an immediate aſſault, but this was not attempted. About this time Major Benjamin Huger, commanding a party without the lines, was through miſtake killed by his countrymen; this was a loſs indeed; the liberality, generoſity, and public ſpirit, which diſtinguiſhed him as a citizen, added to great political and military talents, rendered his untimely death the ſubject of univerſal regret. By his fall the country were deprived of one of its firmeſt and moſt uſeful friends, and the army loſt one of its brighteſt ornaments. Prevoſt knowing by an intercepted letter, that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charleſtown, and filed off with his whole force from the main to the iſlands near the ſea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleſtown, watching each other's motions 20. till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about 1200 Americans, on ſix or 700 of the Britiſh, advantageouſly poſted at Stono-Ferry. The latter had redoubts,

doubts, with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abbatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James-Island, with a body of Charlestown militia, at the moment when General Lincoln began the attack from the main, but from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage, but the appearance of a re-inforcement, to prevent which the feint from James-Island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150. Among the former was Colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge among the less informed American officers. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son Capt. Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword to his son, with an exhortation to behave worthy of it, and to use it in defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation he desired him to return to his proper station, adding for reason, "that there he might be useful, but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations, and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent to Charlestown, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-Royal and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place under Col. Maitland, but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South-Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces under the command of General Prevost spread themselves over a considerable part of the richest settlements of the State, and where there were the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of

 slaves.

1779. slaves. There was much to attract, and but little to resist the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house, and unopposed, took whatever they chose; they not only rifled the inhabitants of houshold furniture, but of wearing apparel, money, rings, and other personal ornaments. Every place, in their line of march, experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental forces under the command of Gen. Lincoln retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

Count D'Estaing having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, sailed for the West Indies, and on the same day Commodore Hotham, with five men of war, a bomb vessel and some frigates, set out from New-York to convoy a number of transports with General Grant, and 5000 men, to the same theatre of naval operations.

Nov. 3, 1778.

The British took St. Lucia, and Count D'Estaing took St. Vincent's and Grenada. Soon after the reduction of the latter, the Count retired to Cape François. Having received instructions from the King his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, and being strongly solicited by General Lincoln, President Lownds, Gov. Rutledge, and Mr. Plombard, Consul of France in Charlestown, he sailed for the American continent with expectation of rendering essential service in operating against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

Dec. 30, 1778.

July 1779.

Sept. 1.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South-Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence; great numbers were employed both

both by day and night, in ſtrengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, fluſhed with the hope of ſpeedily expelling the Britiſh from their ſouthern poſſeſſions, turned out with an alacrity which far ſurpaſſed their exertions in the preceding campaign D'Eſtaing before the arrival of Lincoln demanded the ſurrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevoſt in his anſwer declined ſurrendering on a general ſummons, and requeſted that ſpecific terms ſhould be propoſed, to which he would give an anſwer. The Count replied that it was the part of the beſieged to propoſe terms. Prevoſt then aſked for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, for 24 hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconſiderately granted. Before the 24 hours elapſed, Lieut. Col. Maitland, with ſeveral hundred men who had been ſtationed at Beaufort, made their way good through many obſtacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garriſon, encouraged by the arrival of ſo reſpectable a force, determined on reſiſtance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of ſtorming or beſieging the garriſon. The reſolution of proceeding by ſiege being adopted, ſeveral days were conſumed in preparing for it, and in the mean time the works of the garriſon were hourly ſtrengthened by the labour of ſeveral hundred negroes, directed by that able engineer Major Moncrief. The beſiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-ſeven pieces of cannon from the land ſide, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevoſt ſolicited for leave to ſend the women and children out of town, but this was refuſed. The combined army ſuſpected that a deſire of ſecreting the plunder, lately taken from the South-Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was alſo preſumed that a refuſal would expedite a ſurrender. On a report from the engineers that a conſiderable time would be neceſſary to reduce the garriſon by regular approaches, it was determined to make an aſſault. This meaſure was forced on Count D'Eſtaing by his marine officers, who had remonſtrated againſt his continuing to riſk ſo valuable

a fleet

a fleet on a dangerous coaſt, in the hurricane ſeaſon, and at ſo great a diſtance from the ſhore, that it might be ſurpriſed by a Britiſh fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lines of the beſiegers might have been carried into the works of the beſieged, but under theſe critical circumſtances, no farther delay could be admitted. To aſſault or raiſe the ſiege was the alternative ; prudence would have dictated the latter, but a ſenſe of honour determined the beſiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-Hill battery early in the morning, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleſtown. Theſe boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Eſtaing and Lincoln, but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a croſs fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confuſion. Two ſtandards were nevertherleſs planted on the Britiſh redoubts. A retreat of the aſſailants was ordered, after they had ſtood the enemies fire for 55 minutes. Count D'Eſtaing and Count Pulaſki were both wounded ; the former ſlightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-ſeven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the continentals and militia were killed or wounded. Gen. Prevoſt, Lieut. Col. Maitland, and Major Moncrief deſervedly acquired great reputation by this ſucceſſful defence. The force of the garriſon was between two and 3000, of which about 150 were militia. The damage ſuſtained by the beſieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the aſſailants fired at all. Immediately after this unſucceſsful aſſault, the militia, almoſt univerſally, went to their homes. Count D'Eſtaing re-imbarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the ſiege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterpriſe was effected by Col. John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken poſt with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, ſome time before the ſiege began. There were alſo at the ſame place forty ſailors on board of five Britiſh veſſels, four of which were

were armed. All these men together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered to Colonel White, Captain Elholm, and four others, one of which was the Colonel's servant. On the preceding night this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Captain French was fully impressed with an opinion that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his most Christian Majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode-Island. But this was of no advantage to the United States; for of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing near 6000 men, for two years and eight months, on that island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by a couple of frigates cruising in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions respecting the Southern States took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had over-run the State of Georgia for 150 miles from the sea-coast, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charlestown, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the Tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments, were thoroughly broken.

The campaign of 1779 is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes, which had previously excited their activity, had in a great measure ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively disregard property, and brave all danger in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms near the beginning of 1777, and the hopes of capturing Burgoyne's army in the close of it, together with the brisk circulation of a large quantity of paper money in good credit, made that year both active and decisive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778 banished all fears of the success of the revolution, but the failure of every scheme of co-operation produced a despondency of mind unfavourable to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as the Americans vainly presumed, the campaign of 1778 and 1779 terminated without any direct advantage from the French fleet sent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in these expectations, they were less prepared to prosecute the war from their own resources than they would have been had D'Estaing not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in its numbers, and badly cloathed. In the first years of the war the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times, but in the progress of it the inhabitants cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business. This made distinction between the army and the citizens, and was unfriendly to military exertions. While several foreign events tended to the embarrassment of Great Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety of

of internal cauſes relaxed the exertions of the Americans, and for a time made it doubtful, whether they would ultimately be independent citizens or conquered ſubjects. Among theſe, the daily depreciation of their bills of credit held a diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence. This ſo materially affected every department as to merit a particular diſcuſſion. The ſubject, to prevent an interruption of the thread of the narrative, is treated of in a ſeparate Appendix.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Of Continental Paper Currency.

IN the modern mode of making war, money is not leſs eſſential, than valour in the field, or wiſdom in the cabinet. The deepeſt purſe decides the fate of contending nations as often as the longeſt ſword. It early occurred to the founders of the American empire, that the eſtabliſhed revenues of Great Britain muſt eventually overbalance the ſudden and impetuous ſallies of men contending for freedom, on the ſpur of the occaſion, and without the permanent means of defence; but how to remedy the evil puzzled their wiſeſt politicians. Gold and ſilver, as far as was known, had not a phyſical exiſtence in the country in any quantity equal to the demands of war, nor could they be procured from abroad, as the channels of commerce had been previouſly ſhut, by the voluntary aſſociation of Congreſs to ſuſpend foreign trade. America having never been much taxed in any direct way, and being without eſtabliſhed governments, and eſpecially as ſhe was contending againſt what was lately lawful authority, could not immediately proceed to taxation. Beſides, as the conteſt was on the ſubject of taxation, the laying on of taxes adequate to the exigencies of war, even though it had been practicable, would have been impolitic. The only plauſible expedient in their power to adopt, was the emiſſion of bills of credit repreſenting ſpecie, under a public engagement to be ultimately ſunk by equal taxes, or exchanged for gold or ſilver. This practice had been familiar from the firſt ſettlement of the Colonies, and under proper reſtrictions

had

had been found highly advantageous, Their resolution to raise an army in June 1775, was therefore followed by another to emit bills of credit, to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that sum on the 25th of the next month, it was resolved to add another million. For their redemption they pledged the confederated Colonies, and directed each Colony to find ways and means to sink its proportion and quota, in four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last of November 1779. That time was fixed upon from an expectation, that previous to its arrival, the contest would be brought to a conclusion. On the 29th of November 1775, an estimate having been made by Congress of the public expence salready incurred, or likely to be incurred, in carrying on their defence till the 10th of June 1776, it was resolved to emit a farther sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed as the former by four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last day of November 1783. It was at the same time determined, that the quotas of bills to be redeemed by each Colony should be in a relative proportion to their respective numbers of inhabitants. This estimate was calculated to defray expences to the 10th of June, 1776, on the idea that an accommodation would take place before that time. Hitherto all arrangements, both for men and money, were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a reconciliation. Early in 1776, Congress obtained information, that Great Britain had contracted for 16,000 foreign mercenaries, to be sent over for the purpose of subduing America. This enforced the necessity of extending their plan of defence beyond the 10th of the next June. They therefore on the 17th of February 1776, ordered four millions of dollars to be emitted, and on the 9th of May and the 22d of July following, emitted ten millions more on the same security. Such was the animation of the times, that these several emissions, amounting in the aggregate to twenty millions of dollars, circulated for several months without any depreciation, and commanded the resources of the country for public service, equally with the same sum of gold or silver,

ſilver. The United States derived for a conſiderable time, as much benefit from this paper creation of their own, though without any eſtabliſhed funds for its ſupport or redemption, as would have reſulted from a free gift of as many Mexican dollars. While the Miniſtry of England were puzzling themſelves for new taxes, and funds on which to raiſe their ſupplies, Congreſs raiſed theirs by reſolutions, directing paper of no intrinſic value to be ſtruck off, in form of promiſſory notes. But there was a point both in time and quantity, beyond which this congreſſional alchymy ceaſed to operate. That time was about 18 months from the date of their firſt emiſſion, and that quantity about 20 millions of dollars.

Independence being declared in the ſecond year of the war, and the object for which arms were at firſt aſſumed being changed, it was obvious that more money muſt be procured, and equally ſo that if bills of credit were multiplied beyond a reaſonable ſum for circulation, they muſt neceſſarily depreciate. It was therefore on the 3d of October 1776 reſolved to borrow five millions of dollars, and in the month following a lottery was ſet on foot for obtaining a farther ſum on loan. The expences of the war were ſo great, that the money ariſing from both, though conſiderable, was far ſhort of a ſufficiency. The rulers of America thought it ſtill premature to urge taxation; they therefore reiterated the expedient of farther emiſſions. The eaſe with which the means of procuring ſupplies were furniſhed by ſtriking off bills of credit, and the readineſs of the people to receive them, prompted Congreſs to multiply them beyond the limits of prudence. A diminution of their value was the unavoidable conſequence. This at firſt was ſcarcely perceivable, but it daily increaſed. The zeal of the people nevertheleſs ſo far overbalanced the nice mercantile calculations of intereſt, that the campaigns of 1776 and 1777 were not affected by the depreciation of their paper currency. Congreſs foreſaw that this could not long be the caſe. It was therefore on the 22d of November 1777 recommended to the ſeveral States, to raiſe by taxes the ſum

of

of five millions of dollars, for the ſervice of the year 1778.

Previouſly to this it had been reſolved to borrow larger ſums, and for the encouragement of lenders, it was agreed to pay the intereſt which ſhould accrue thereon by bills of exchange, payable in France, out of monies borrowed there for the uſe of the United States. This tax unfortunately failed in ſeveral of the States. From the impoſſibility of procuring a ſufficiency of money either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of farther emiſſions was reiterated ; but the value decreaſed as the quantity increaſed. Congreſs anxious to put a ſtop to the increaſe of their bills of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what were iſſued, called upon the States on the 1ſt of January 1779, to pay into the continental treaſury their reſpective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars for the ſervice of that year, and of ſix millions annually from and after the year 1779, as a fund for reducing their early emiſſions and loans. Such had been the miſtaken ideas which originally prevailed of the duration of the conteſt, that though the war was raging, and the demands for money unabated, yet the period was arrived which had been originally fixed upon for the redemption of the firſt emiſſions of Congreſs.

In addition to theſe 15 millions called for on the 1ſt of January 1779, the States were on the 21ſt of May following called upon to furniſh, for public ſervice within the current year, their reſpective quotas of 45 millions of dollars. Congreſs wiſhed to arreſt the growing depreciation, and therefore called for taxes in large ſums, proportioned to the demands of the public, and alſo to the diminiſhed value of their bills. Theſe requiſitions, though nominally large, were by no means ſufficient. From the fluctuating ſtate of the money, it was impoſſible to make any certain calculations, for it was not two days of the ſame value. A ſum which, when demanded, would have purchaſed a ſufficiency of the commodities wanted for the public ſervice, was very inadequate when the collection was made, and the money lodged in the treaſury. The depreciation began at different periods in different

States ;

States ; but became general about the middle of the year 1777, and progreſſively increaſed for three or four years. Towards the end of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one ; in 1778 it advanced from two or three for one to five or ſix for one ; in 1779, from five or ſix for one to 27 or 28 for one ; in 1780, from 27 or 28 for one to 50 or 60 for one, in the firſt four or five months. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where it paſſed it ſoon depreciated to 150 for one. In ſome few parts it continued in circulation for the firſt four or five months of 1781, but in this latter period many would not take it at any rate, and they who did, received it at a depreciation of ſeveral hundreds for one.

As there was a general clamor on account of the floods of money, which at ſucceſſive periods had deluged the States, it was reſolved in October 1779 that no farther ſum ſhould be iſſued on any account whatever than what, when added to the preſent ſum in circulation, would in the whole be equal to 200 millions of dollars. It was at the ſame time reſolved, that Congreſs ſhould emit only ſuch a part of the ſum wanting to make up 200 millions, as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary for the public exigencies, before adequate ſupplies could be otherwiſe obtained, relying for ſuch ſupplies on the exertions of the ſeveral States. This was forcibly repreſented in a circular letter from Congreſs to their conſtituents, and the States were earneſtly entreated to prevent that deluge of evils which would flow from their neglecting to furniſh adequate ſupplies for the wants of the confederacy. The ſame circular letter ſtated the practicability of redeeming all the bills of Congreſs at par with gold and ſilver, and rejected with indignation the ſuppoſition that the States would ever tarniſh their credit by violating public faith. Theſe ſtrong declarations in favour of the paper currency deceived many to repoſe confidence in it to their ruin. Subſequent events compelled Congreſs to adopt the very meaſure in 1780, which in the preceding year they had ſincerely reprobated.

From the non-compliance of the States, Congreſs was obliged in a ſhort time after the date of their circular letter to iſſue ſuch a farther quantity, as, when added to

previous

previous emiſſions, made the ſum of 200 millions of dollars. Beſides this immenſe ſum, the paper emiſſions of the different States amounted to many millions; which mixed with the continental money, and added to its depreciation. What was of little value before, now became of leſs. The whole was ſoon expended, and yet from its increaſed depreciation the immediate wants of the army were not ſupplied. The ſource which for five years had enabled Congreſs to keep an army in the field being exhauſted, General Waſhington was reduced for ſome time to the alternative of diſbanding his troops, or of ſupplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter, and the inhabitants of New-York and New-Jerſey, though they felt the injury, ſaw the neceſſity, and patiently ſubmitted.

The States were next called upon to furniſh in lieu of money determinate quantities of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the uſe of the army. This was called a requiſition for ſpecific ſupplies, or a tax in kind, and was found on experiment to be ſo difficult of execution, ſo inconvenient, partial, and expenſive, that it was ſpeedily abandoned. About this time, Congreſs reſolved upon another expedient. This was to iſſue a new ſpecies of paper money, under the guarantee of the ſeveral States. The old money was to be called in by taxes, and as ſoon as brought in to be burnt, and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old, ſo that when the whole 200 millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new ſhould be iſſued in their place, four tenths of which were to be ſubject to the order of Congreſs, and the remaining ſix tenths to the order of the ſeveral States. Theſe new bills were to be redeemable in ſpecie within ſix years, and to bear an intereſt at the rate of five per cent. to be paid alſo in ſpecie, at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owner annually in bills of exchange on the American commiſſioners in Europe, at four ſhillings and ſix pence for each dollar.

From the execution of theſe reſolutions it was expected that the old money would be cancelled—that the currency

currency would be reduced to a fixed ſtandard—that the States would be ſupplied with the means of purchaſing the ſpecific ſupplies required of them, and that Congreſs would be furniſhed with efficient money to provide for the exigencies of the war. That theſe good effects would have followed, even though the reſolutions of Congreſs had been carried into execution, is very queſtionable, but from the partial compliances of the States the experiment was never fairly made, and the new paper anſwered very little purpoſe. It was hoped by varying the ground of credit, that Congreſs would gain a repetition of the advantages, which reſulted from their firſt paper expedient, but theſe hopes were of ſhort duration. By this time much of the popular enthuſiaſm had ſpent itſelf, and confidence in public engagements was nearly expired. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be ſported with, and can only be maintained by honeſty and punctuality. The ſeveral expedients propoſed by Congreſs for raiſing ſupplies having failed, a criſis followed very intereſting to the ſucceſs of the revolution. The particulars of this ſhall be related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some obſervations on that primary inſtrument of American Independence, the old continental bills of credit, ſhall for the preſent cloſe this ſubject.

It would have been impoſſible to have carried on the war without ſomething in the form of money. There was ſpirit enough in America to bring to the field of battle as many of her ſons, as would have out-numbered the armies of Britain, and to have riſqued their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating, and protracting, to its utmoſt length, a war of poſts. The continued exertions neceſſary for this ſpecies of defence, could not be expected from the impetuous ſallies of militia. A regular permanent army became neceſſary. Though the enthuſiaſm of the times might have diſpenſed with preſent pay, yet without at leaſt as much money as would ſupport them in the field, the moſt patriotic army muſt have diſperſed.

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The impoſſibility of the Americans procuring gold and ſilver even for that purpoſe, doubtleſs weighed with the Britiſh as an encouragement, to bring the controverſy to the deciſion of the ſword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means, was accompliſhed by thoſe which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinſic value was made to anſwer all the purpoſes of gold and ſilver, and to ſupport the expences of five campaigns. This was in ſome degree owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honeſty and fidelity, in diſcharging the engagements of government. From New-York to Georgia there never had been in matters relating to money, an inſtance of a breach of public faith. In the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver, many emergencies had impoſed a neceſſity of emitting bills of credit. Theſe had been uniformly and honeſtly redeemed. The bills of Congreſs being thrown into circulation on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. The enthuſiaſm of the people contributed to the ſame effect. That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was eſſentially neceſſary to a proper defence, were the opinions engraven on the hearts of a great majority of the citizens. It was therefore a point of honour, and conſidered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then ſo little regarded, that the Whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cauſe of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its limits. While the credit of the money was well ſupported by public confidence and patriotiſm, its value diminiſhed from the increaſe of its quantity. Repeated emiſſions beget that natural depreciation, which reſults from an exceſs of quantity. This was helped on by various cauſes, which affected the *credit* of the money. The enemy very ingeniouſly counterfeited their bills, and induſtriouſly circulated their forgeries through the United States. Congreſs allowed to their public agents a commiſſion on the amount of their purchaſes. Inſtead of exerting themſelves to purchaſe at a low price, they had therefore

fore an intereſt in giving a high price for every thing. So ſtrong was the force of prejudice, that the Britiſh mode of ſupplying armies by contract, could not for a long time obtain the approbation of Congreſs. While theſe cauſes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and at the ſame time, that fervour of patriotiſm which diſregarded intereſt was daily declining. To prevent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, Congreſs attempted to prop its credit by means which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people, without anſwering the end propoſed. They recommended to the States to paſs laws for regulating the prices of labour, manufacture, and all ſorts of commodities, and for confiſcating and ſelling the eſtates of Tories, and for inveſting the money ariſing from the ſales thereof in loan-office certificates. As many of thoſe who were diſaffected to the revolution, abſolutely refuſed to take the bills of Congreſs even in the firſt ſtage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the ſame, with the view of counteracting their machinations, Congreſs early recommended to the States to paſs laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at their nominal value, in the diſcharge of *bona fide* debts, though contracted to be paid in gold or ſilver. With the ſame views, they farther recommended that laws ſhould be paſſed by each of the States, ordaining that " whoſoever ſhould aſk or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or ſilver, or any ſpecies of money whatſoever, than the nominal ſum thereof in Spaniſh dollars, or more in the ſaid bills for any commodities whatſoever, than the ſame would be purchaſed from the ſame perſon in gold and ſilver, or offer to ſell any commodities for gold or ſilver, and refuſe to ſell the ſame for the ſaid bills, ſhall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property ſo ſold or offered for ſale." The laws which were paſſed by the States, for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment to be viſionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were diſpoſed to ſacrifice every thing in the cauſe of their country, and who implicitly obeyed every mandate

of

of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws in the first instance made an artificial scarcity, and had they not been repealed, would soon have made a real one, for men never exert themselves unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of Tories for the most part brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally made for credit, and by the progressive depreciation, what was dear at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of payment. The most extensive mischief resulted in the progress, and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws which made the paper bills a tender, in the discharge of debts contracted payable in gold and silver. When this measure was first adopted, little or no injustice resulted from it, for at that time the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold and silver of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws which were originally innocent, became eventually the occasion of much injustice.

The aged who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration of all his well-meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin who had grown up with an unquestionable title to a liberal patrimony, was legally stripped of every thing but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor, a competency to set out in business, was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment of 6d. in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of care and diligence were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a trifling sum. A few persons escaped these

these affecting calamities, by secretly transferring their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which resulted from the legal tender of these paper bills were foreign from the intentions of Congress and of the State legislatures. It is but justice to add farther, that a great proportion of them flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780, when the bills fell to forty for one, it was designed by most of the rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that the whole sum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or silver. In every department of government the Americans erred from ignorance, but in none so much as in that which related to money.

Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many; it was at all times the poor man's friend; while it was current, all kinds of labour very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people, whose daily labour was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage; expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No Agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation, than continental money. That for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome, was peaceably effected by the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Money lenders, and they whose circumstances enabled them to give credit, were essentially injured. All that the money lost in its value was so much taken from their capital, but the active and industrious indemnified themselves by conforming the price of their services to the present state of the depreciation. The experience of this time inculcated on youth two salutary lessons, the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, and the necessity of their own exertions. They who

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were in debt, and poſſeſſed property of any kind, could eaſily make the latter extinguiſh the former. Every thing that was uſeful when brought to market, readily found a purchaſer. A hog or two would pay for a ſlave; a few cattle for a comfortable houſe; and a good horſe for an improved plantation. A ſmall part of the productions of a farm would diſcharge the long outſtanding accounts due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realiſed to the poor man and the debtor, but unfortunately what theſe gained, was juſt ſo much taken from others.

The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war; they extend to the preſent hour. That the helpleſs part of the community were legiſlatively deprived of their property, was among the leſſer evils which reſulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws eſtranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of juſtice.

The nature of obligations was ſo far changed, that he was reckoned the honeſt man, who from principle delayed to pay his debts. The mounds which government had erected to ſecure the obſervance of honeſty in the commercial intercourſe of man with man, were broken down. Truth, honour, and juſtice were ſwept away by the overflowing deluge of legal iniquity, nor have they yet aſſumed their ancient and accuſtomed ſeats. Time and induſtry have already, in a great degree, repaired the loſſes of property, which the citizens ſuſtained during the war, but both have hitherto failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles, nor can its total ablution be expected till a new generation ariſes, unpractiſed in the iniquities of their fathers.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Indians and Expeditions into the Indian Country.

WHEN the Engliſh Colonies were firſt planted in North America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, who principally ſupported them-

themſelves by the ſpontaneous productions of nature. The arts and arms of Europeans ſoon gave them an aſcendency over ſuch untutored ſavages. Had the latter underſtood their intereſt, and been guided by a ſpirit of union, they would ſoon have expelled the invaders, and in that caſe they might now be flouriſhing in the poſſeſſion of their ancient territories and independence. By degrees the old inhabitants were circumſcribed within narrower limits, and by ſome ſtrange fatality, their numbers have been conſtantly leſſening. The names of ſeveral nations who in the laſt century boaſted of ſeveral thouſands, are now known only to thoſe who are fond of curious reſearches. Many are totally extinct, and others can ſhew no more than a few ſtraggling individuals, the remnants of their fallen greatneſs. That ſo many tribes ſhould, in ſo ſhort a time, loſe both their country and their national exiſtence, is an event ſcarcely to be paralleled in the hiſtory of the world. Spirituous liquors, the ſmall pox, and an abridgment of territory, to a people whoſe mode of life needed an extenſive range, evils which chiefly reſulted from the neighbourhood of Europeans, were among the principal cauſes of their deſtruction. The reflections which may be excited by reviewing the havoc made among the native proprietors of this new world, is in ſome degree alleviated by its counterpart. While one ſet of inhabitants was inſenſibly dwindling away, another improving in the arts of civil and ſocial life, was growing in numbers, and gradually filling up their places; as the emigrants from Europe, and their dependents, extended their poſſeſſions on the ſea coaſt, the Aborigines retired from it. By this gradual advance of the one, and retiring of the other, the former always preſented an extenſive frontier to the incurſions of the latter. The European emigrants from an avidity for land, the poſſeſſion of which is the ultimate object of human avarice, were prone to encroach on the territories of the Indians, while the Indians, from obvious principles of human nature, beheld with concern the deſcendants of the ancient proprietors circumſcribed in their territory by the deſcendants of thoſe ſtrangers whom their fathers had permitted

mitted to reside among them. From these causes, and especially from the licentious conduct of disorderly individuals of both Indians and white people, there were frequent interruptions of the peace in their contiguous settlements. In the war between France and England, which commenced in 1755, both parties paid assiduous attention to the Aborigines. The former succeeded in securing the greatest number of adherents, but the superior success of the latter in the progress, and at the termination of the war, turned the current of Indian affections and interest in their favour. When the dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies began to grow serious, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of consequence to both parties. Stretching for fifteen hundred miles along the whole north-western frontier of the Colonies, they were to them desirable friends and formidable enemies. As terror was one of the engines by which Great Britain intended to inforce the submission of the Colonies, nothing could be more conducive to the excitement of this passion, than the co-operation of Indians. Policy, not cruelty, led to the adoption of this expedient; but it was of that over-refined species which counteracts itself. In the competition for the friendship of the Indians, the British had advantages far superior to any which were possessed by the Colonists. The expulsion of the French from Canada, an event which had only taken place about thirteen years before, was still fresh in the memory of many of the savages, and had inspired them with high ideas of the martial superiority of British troops. The first steps taken by the Congress to oppose Great Britain, put it out of their power to gratify the Indians. Such was the effect of the non-importation agreement of 1774. While Great Britain had access to the principal Indian tribes through Canada on the north, and the two Floridas on the south, and was abundantly able to supply their many wants, the Colonists had debarred themselves from importing the articles which were necessary for the Indian trade.

It was unfortunate for the Colonies, that since the peace of Paris, 1763, the transactions with the Indians had

had been moſtly carried on by ſuperintendants appointed and paid by the King of Great Britain. Theſe being under obligations to the Crown, and expectants of farther favours from it, generally uſed their influence with the Indians in behalf of the Mother Country, and againſt the Colonies. They inſinuated into the minds of the uninformed ſavages, that the King was their natural protector againſt the incroaching Coloniſts, and that if the latter ſucceeded in their oppoſition to Great Britain, they would probably next aim at the extirpation of their coloured neighbours. By ſuch repreſentations, ſeconded with a profuſion of preſents, the attachment of the Indians was pre-engaged in ſupport of the Britiſh intereſt.

The Americans were not unmindful of the ſavages on their frontier; they appointed commiſſioners to explain to them the grounds of the diſpute, and to cultivate their friendſhip by treaties and preſents. They endeavoured to perſuade the Indians that the quarrel was by no means relative to them, and that therefore they ſhould take part with neither ſide.

For the greater convenience of managing the intercourſe between the Colonies and the Indians, the latter were divided into three departments, the northern, ſouthern, and middle, and commiſſioners were appointed for each. Congreſs alſo reſolved to import and diſtribute among them a ſuitable aſſortment of goods, to the amount of 40,000l. ſterling, on account of the United States; but this was not executed. All the exertions of Congreſs were inſufficient for the ſecurity of their weſtern frontiers. In almoſt every period of the war, a great majority of the Indians took part with Great Britain againſt the Americans. South-Carolina was among the firſt of the States which experienced the effects of Britiſh influence over the Indians. The Cherokees and Creeks inhabit lands, not far diſtant from the weſtern ſettlements of Carolina and Georgia. The intercourſe with theſe tribes had for ſeveral years prior to the American war, been excluſively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the Crown, and devoted to the royal intereſt. His influence, which was great, was wholly exerted in favour

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of Great Britain. A plan was ſettled by him, in concert with the King's governors, and other royal ſervants, to land a royal armed force in Florida, and to proceed with it to the weſtern frontier of the ſouthern States, and there, in conjunction with the Tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of Congreſs, at the ſame time that a fleet and army ſhould invade them on the ſea coaſt. The whole ſcheme was providentially diſcovered by the capture of Moſes Kirkland, one of the principal agents to be employed in its execution, while he was on his way to Gen. Gage with diſpatches, detailing the particulars, and ſoliciting for the requiſite aid to accompliſh it. The poſſeſſion of Kirkland, and of his papers, enabled the Americans to take ſuch ſteps as in a great degree fruſtrated the views of the royal ſervants, yet ſo much was carried into effect, that the Cherokees began their maſſacres at the very time the Britiſh fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's Iſland. The undiſturbed tranquillity which took place in South-Carolina, and the adjacent States, after the Britiſh had failed in their deſigns againſt them in the ſpring and ſummer of 1776, gave an opportunity for carrying war into the Indian country. This was done, not ſo much to puniſh what was paſt, as to prevent all future co-operation between the Indians and Britiſh in that quarter.

Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, each ſent about the ſame time a conſiderable force over the Allegany mountains, which traverſed the Indian ſettlements, burned their towns, and deſtroyed their fields of corn. Above 500 of the Cherokees were obliged, from the want of proviſions, to take refuge in Weſt-Florida, and were there fed at the expence of the Britiſh government. Theſe unfortunate miſled people ſued for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, and ſoon after aſſented to a treaty, by which they ceded a conſiderable part of their land to South-Carolina. The deciſion with which this expedition was conducted, intimidated the Cherokees for ſome years from farther hoſtilities. Very different was the caſe of thoſe Indians who were in the vicinity of the Britiſh poſts, and contiguous to the frontier of the northern and middle States. The preſents which they

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continually received from England, the induſtry of the Britiſh agents, and the influence of a great number of American refugees who had taken ſhelter among them, operating on their native paſſion for rapine, excited them to frequent hoſtile excurſions. Col. John Butler, a Connecticut Tory, and one Brandt, a half Indian by blood, were the principal leaders of the ſavages in theſe expeditions. The vaſt extent of frontier, and remote ſituation of the ſettlements, together with the exact knowledge which the refugees poſſeſſed of the country, made it practicable for even ſmall marauding parties to do extenſive miſchief.

A ſtorm of Indian and Tory vengeance burſt with particular violence on Wyoming, a new and flouriſhing ſettlement on the eaſtern branch of Suſquehannah. Unfortunately for the ſecurity of the inhabitants, the ſoil was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennſylvania. From the colliſion of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were ſteadily enforced. In this remote ſettlement, where government was feeble, the Tories were under leſs controul, and could eaſily aſſemble undiſcovered. Nevertheleſs at one time 27 of them were taken, and ſent to Hartford in Connecticut, but they were afterwards releaſed. Theſe and others of the ſame deſcription, inſtigated by revenge againſt the Americans, from whom ſome of them had ſuffered baniſhment and loſs of property, made a common cauſe with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming ſettlement with their combined forces, eſtimated at 1100 men, 900 of which were Indians. The whole was commanded by Colonel John Butler. One of the forts, which had been conſtructed for the ſecurity of the inhabitants, being very weak, ſurrendered to this party; but ſome of the garriſon had previouſly retired to the principal fort at Kingſton, called Forty-Fort. Colonel John Butler next demanded the ſurrender of that. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer who commanded there, ſent a meſſage to him, propoſing a conference at a bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, Col. Zebelon Butler, Dennifon, and ſome other officers, repaired to the place

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July 2.

July 3.

place appointed, and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enemy appeared. The Wyoming people advanced, and supposed that the enemy were retiring. They continued to march on till they were about three miles from the fort; they then saw a few of the enemy, with whom they exchanged some shot, but they presently found themselves ambuscaded and attacked by the whole body of Indians and Tories. They fought gallantly, till they found that their retreat to the fort was cut off: universal confusion then ensued. Of 417 who had marched out of the fort, about 350 were instantly slain; no quarters were given. Colonel John Butler again demanded the surrender of Forty-Fort. This was agreed to under articles of capitulation, by which the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison consisted of 30 men and 200 women. These were permitted to cross the Susquehannah, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the other scattered settlers had previously retired, some through the woods to Northampton county, others down the river to Northumberland county. In this retreat, some women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suffered from want of provisions. Several of the settlers at Wyoming had erected good houses and barns, and made very considerable improvements. These and all the other houses in the vicinity, except about half a dozen, were destroyed. Their horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, were for the most part killed or driven away by the enemy.

The distresses of this settlement were uncommonly great: a large proportion of the male inhabitants were, in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near 200 women were made widows, and a much greater number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians by Col. Butler of the Pennsylvania troops. He and his party, having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down the river for two days, and then struck across the county to

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the Susquehannah. They totally burnt or destroyed the Indian villages, both in that quarter and the other settlements, but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles on both sides of the Susquehannah. The difficulties which Col. Butler's men encountered in this expedition, could not be undergone but by men who possessed a large share of hardiness, both of body and mind. They were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to wade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march, they were obliged to endure chilly nights and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their arms dry. They completed their business in sixteen days. About four weeks after Col. Butler's return, some hundreds of Indians, a large body of Tories, and about 50 regulars entered Cherry-Valley, within the State of New-York. They made an unsuccessful attempt on Fort Alden, but they killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, and also Col. Alden and ten soldiers.

1778.

Nov. 4.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, Lt. Gov. of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginian back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, proved abortive, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Col. Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincent's in the winter, to have all things in readiness for invading the American settlements as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself by sending away a considerable part of his Indians against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties he arrived with 130 men unexpectedly at St. Vincent's. The town immediately submitted to the Americans, and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day Hamilton, with the garrison, agreed to surrender prisoners of war on articles of capitulation. Clarke on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit.

1779.

Feb. 23.

troit, detached a party of ſixty men which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and ſpirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Col. Clarke tranſmitted to the Council of Virginia letters and papers, relating to Lt. Gov. Hamilton, Philip De Jean, juſtice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, Captain of volunteers, whom he had made priſoners. The board reported that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accuſtomed cruelties on the defenceleſs inhabitants of the United States—had at the time of his captivity ſent conſiderable detachments of Indians againſt the frontiers—had appointed a great council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the enſuing campaign---had given ſtanding rewards for ſcalps, and had treated American priſoners with cruelty. They alſo reported, that it appeared that De Jean was the willing and cordial inſtrument of Hamilton, and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer ſcalping parties of Indians and Tories, who went out from time to time, under general orders to ſpare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore conſidering them as fit objects, on which to begin the work of retaliation---adviſed the Governor to put them in irons—confine them in the dungeon of the public jail—debar them the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and exclude them from all converſe, except with their keeper.

Col. Gooſe Van Schaick, with 55 men, marched from Fort Schuyler to the Onandago ſettlements, and burned the whole, conſiſting of about 50 houſes, together with a large quantity of proviſions; horſes and ſtock of every kind were killed: the arms and ammunition of the Indians were either deſtroyed or brought off, and their ſettlements were laid waſte: twelve Indians were killed and 34 made priſoners. This expedition was performed in leſs than ſix days, and without the loſs of a ſingle man.

In this manner the ſavage part of the war was carried on in America. Waſte, and ſometimes cruelty, were inflicted and retorted, with infinite variety of ſcenes of horror and diſguſt. The ſelfiſh paſſions of human nature, unreſtrained by ſocial ties, broke over all bounds of decency

decency or humanity. The American refugees, who had fled to the weſtern wilderneſs, indulged their paſſion for rapine by aſſuming the colour and dreſs of Indians. At other times they acted as guides, and conducted theſe merciless ravagers into ſuch ſettlements as afforded the moſt valuable booty and the faireſt proſpect of eſcape. The ſavages, encouraged by Britiſh preſents and agents, and led on by American refugees well acquainted with the country, and who cloaked the moſt conſummate villany under the ſpecious name of loyalty, extended their depredations and murders far and near.

A particular detail of the devaſtation of property, of the diſtreſs of great numbers who eſcaped only by fleeing to the woods, where they ſubſiſted without covering on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, and of the barbarous murders which were committed on perſons of every age and ſex, would be ſufficient to freeze every breaſt with horror.

In ſundry expeditions which had been carried on againſt the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on ſome of them, but theſe partial ſucceſſes produced no laſting benefit. The few who eſcaped had it in their power to make thouſands miſerable. For the permanent ſecurity of the frontier inhabitants, it was reſolved in the year 1779, to carry a deciſive expedition into the Indian country. A conſiderable body of continental troops was ſelected for this purpoſe, and put under the command of General Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the ſix nations, commonly called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that immenſe and fertile tract of country, which lies between New-England, the middle States, and the province of Canada. They had been adviſed by Congreſs, and they had promiſed, to obſerve a neutrality in the war; but they ſoon departed from this line of conduct. The Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans, but a great majority took part decidedly againſt them. Overcome by the preſents and promiſes of Sir John Johnſon and other Britiſh agents, and their own native appetite for depredation, they invaded the frontiers,

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carrying ſlaughter and devaſtation wherever they went. From the vicinity of their ſettlements to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. Much was therefore expected from their expulſion. When Gen. Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by the American General Clinton with upwards of 1000 men. The latter made his way down the Suſquehannah by a ſingular contrivance. The ſtream of water in that river was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he raiſed with great induſtry a dam acroſs the mouth of the Lake Otſego, which is one of the ſources of the River Suſquehannah. The lake being conſtantly ſupplied by ſprings ſoon roſe to the height of the dam. General Clinton having got his batteaux ready, opened a paſſage through the dam for the water to flow. This raiſed the river ſo high that he was enabled to embark all his troops and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertion they ſoon joined Sullivan. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected againſt them, acted with firmneſs. They collected their ſtrength, took poſſeſſion of proper ground, and fortified it with judgement. Gen. Sullivan attacked them in their works. They ſtood a cannonade for more than two hours, but then gave way. This engagement proved deciſive: after the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt to rally. They were purſued for ſome miles but without effect. The conſternation occaſioned among them by this defeat was ſo great, that they gave up all ideas of farther reſiſtance. As the Americans advanced into their ſettlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obſtructions in their way. Gen. Sullivan penetrated into the heart of the country inhabited by the Mohawks, and ſpread deſolation every where. Many ſettlements in the form of towns were deſtroyed, beſides detached habitations. All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a ſtate of cultivation underwent the ſame fate. Scarce any thing in the form of a houſe was left ſtanding, nor was an Indian to be ſeen. To the ſurpriſe of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns

towns well cultivated, and their houſes both large and commodious. The quantity of corn deſtroyed was immenſe. Orchards, in which were ſeveral hundred fruit trees, were cut down, and of them many appeared to have been planted for a long ſeries of years. Their gardens, which were enriched with great quantities of uſeful vegetables of different kinds, were laid waſte. The Americans were ſo full of reſentment againſt the Indians, for the many outrages they had ſuffered from them, and ſo bent on making the expedition deciſive, that the officers and ſoldiers cheerfully agreed to remain till they had fully completed the deſtruction of the ſettlement. The ſupplies obtained in the country leſſened the inconvenience of ſhort rations. The ears of corn were ſo remarkably large, that many of them meaſured twenty-two inches in length. Neceſſity ſuggeſted a novel expedient for pulveriſing the grains thereof. The ſoldiers perforated a few of their camp kettles with bayonets. The protruſions occaſioned thereby formed a rough ſurface, and by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a courſe meal was produced, which was eaſily converted into agreeable nouriſhment.

In about three months from his ſetting out, Sullivan reached Eaſton in Pennſylvania, and ſoon after rejoined the army.

The Indians, by this deciſive expedition, being made to feel in the moſt ſenſible manner, thoſe calamities they were wont to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The ſufferings they had undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in caſe of their provoking the reſentment of the Americans, damped the ardour of their warriors from making incurſions into the American ſettlements. The frontiers, though not reſtored to perfect tranquillity, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities in which they had been lately involved.

Though theſe good conſequences reſulted from this expedition, yet about the time of its commencement, and before its termination, ſeveral detached parties of Indians diſtreſſed different ſettlements in the United States.

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A party of 60 Indians, and 27 white men, under Brandt, attacked the Minisink settlement, and burnt 10 houses, 12 barns, a fort and two mills, and carried off much plunder, together with several prisoners. The militia from Goshen and the vicinity, to the amount of 149, collected and pursued them, but with so little caution, that they were surprised and defeated. About this time, Gen. Williamson and Col. Pickens, both of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of their State, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and insisted upon the Indians removing immediately from their late habitations into more remote settlements.

In the same month, Col. Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneka Indians. He left Pittsburgh with 605 men, and was gone about five weeks, in which time he penetrated about 200 miles from the fort, destroyed a number of Indian huts, and about 500 acres of corn.

The State of New-York continued to suffer in its frontier from Indians and their Tory associates. These burnt 50 houses and 47 barns, the principal part of Canijohary, a fine settlement about 56 miles from Albany. They also destroyed 27 houses at Schoharie, and 20 at Norman's Creek. In about two months after, they made a second irruption, and attacked Stone Arabia, Canasioraga and Schoharie. At the same time, they laid waste a great extent of country about the Mohawk River, killed a number of the settlers, and made many prisoners.

The Cherokee Indians, having forgot the consequences of provoking the Americans to invade their settlements in the year 1776, made an incursion into Ninety-six districts in South-Carolina, massacred some families, and burned several houses. Gen. Pickens collected a party of the militia and penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of 40 Indians, and took a number of prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions

againſt the Cherokees had been ſo rapid and deciſive as this one. The Americans did not expend three rounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians eſcaped after having been once ſeen. On this occaſion, a new and ſucceſsful mode of fighting them was introduced. The American militia ruſhed forwards on horſeback, and charged the Indians with drawn ſwords. The vanquiſhed Cherokees again ſued for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms and obtained it, but not till they had promiſed, that inſtead of liſtening to the advice of the royaliſts, inſtigating them to war, they would deliver to the authority of the State of South-Carolina, all who ſhould viſit them on that errand.

Towards the end of the war, there was a barbarous and unprovoked maſſacre of ſome civilized Indians, who had been ſettled near the Muſkingum. Theſe under the influence of ſome pious miſſionaries of the Moravian perſuaſion, had been formed into ſome degree of civil and religious order. They abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reaſon that, "The Great Being did not make men to deſtroy men, but to love and aſſiſt each other." From a love of peace they adviſed thoſe of their own colour, who were bent on war, to deſiſt from it. They were alſo led from humanity to inform the white people of their danger when they knew that their ſettlements were about to be invaded. This provoked the hoſtile Indians to ſuch a degree, that they carried theſe pacific people quite away from Muſkingum to a bank of Sanduſky Creek. They finding corn dear and ſcarce in their new habitations, obtained liberty to come back in the fall of the ſame year to Muſkingum, that they might collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near Monongahala, heard that a number of Indians were at the Moravian town on the Muſkingum, they gave out that their intentions were hoſtile. Without any farther inquiry, 160 of them croſſed the Ohio, and put to death theſe harmleſs, inoffenſive people, though they made no reſiſtance. In conformity to their religious principles, theſe Moravians patiently ſubmitted to their hard fate, without attempting

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to deſtroy their murderers. Upwards of ninety of this pacific ſet were killed by men, who, while they called themſelves Chriſtians, were infinitely more deſerving of the name of ſavages than thoſe whom they inhumanly murdered.

Soon after this unprovoked maſſacre, a party of the Americans ſet out for Sanduſky to deſtroy the Indian towns in that part: but the Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians oppoſed them: an engagement enſued, in which ſome of the white people were killed, and ſeveral were taken priſoners. Among the latter was Col. Crawford and his ſon-in law. The Colonel was ſacrificed to the manes of thoſe Indians who were maſſacred at the Moravian towns; the other priſoners were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the American war, the deſolation brought by the Indians on the frontier ſettlements of the United States, and on the Indians by the Americans, were ſufficient to excite compaſſion in the moſt obdurate hearts.

Not only the men and warriors, but the women and children, and whole ſettlements were involved in the promiſcuous deſolations. Each was made a ſcourge to the other, and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly diſtreſſing, by the diſperſion of families, the breaking up of ſettlements, and an addition of ſavage cruelties to the moſt extenſive devaſtation of thoſe things which conduce to the comfort of human life.

CHAP. XIX.

1780.

Compaign of 1780 in the Southern States.

THE succesful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of Count D'Estaing from the coast of the United States, soon dissipated all apprehensions previously entertained for the safety of New-York. These circumstances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, he turned his attention southwardly, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest among the weaker States. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South-Carolina as a proper object of enterprize. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New-York to Lieut. Gen. Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, 12 regiments, and a corps of British, Hessian, and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. The whole sailed from New-York. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee in Georgia. In a few days the transports with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North-Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing about 30 miles from Charleston, and took possession of John's Island and Stono-Ferry, and soon after of James Island, and Wappoo-Cut.—A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charleston.

1779. Dec. 26.

Jan. 21.

Feb. 11.

The Assembly of the State was sitting when the British landed, but broke up after " delegating to Gov. Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good,

except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The Governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the neceſſity was great, few obeyed the preſſing call. A proclamation was iſſued by the Governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring ſuch of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American ſtandard and join the garriſon immediately, under pain of confiſcation. This ſevere though neceſſary meaſure produced very little effect: the country was much diſpirited by the late repulſe at Savannah.

The tedious paſſage from New-York to Tybee gave the Americans time to fortify Charleſton. This, together with the loſſes which the royal army had ſuſtained in the late tempeſtuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to diſpatch an order to New-York for re-inforcements of men and ſtores. He alſo directed Major-general Prevoſt to ſend on to him twelve hundred men from the garriſon of Savannah. Brigadier-general Patterſon, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and ſoon after joined Sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Aſhley River. The royal forces without delay proceeded to the ſiege. At Wappoo on James Iſland, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that iſland and on the main, oppoſite to the ſouthern and weſtern extremities of Charleſton. An advanced party croſſed Aſhley River, and ſoon after broke ground at the diſtance of 1100 yards from the American works. At ſucceſſive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleſton Neck. The garriſon was equally aſſiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had been previouſly thrown up were ſtrengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued acroſs from Cooper to Aſhley River. In front of the whole was a ſtrong abbatis, and a wet ditch made by paſſing a canal from the heads of ſwamps which run in oppoſite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at ſhort intervals. The lines were made particularly ſtrong on the right and left, and ſo conſtructed as to rake the wet ditch in al-

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most its whole extent. To secure the center, a horn-work had been erected, which being closed during the siege formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened a work was thrown up near Wando River, nine miles from town, and another at Lempriere's-Point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of re-inforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion-Road and anchored in Five Fathom-Hole. The American force opposed to this was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, Commodore Whipple, was to prevent Admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to re-inforce the batteries.

1780.

Mar. 21.

Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom-Hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from

April 9.

1780. from running into Cooper River, eleven veſſels were ſunk in the channel oppoſite to the exchange. The batteries of the beſiegers ſoon obtained a ſuperiority over thoſe of the town. The former had twenty-one mortars and royals, the latter only two. The regular force in the garriſon was much inferior to that of the beſiegers, and but few of the militia could be perſuaded to leave their plantations, and re-inforce their brethren in the capital. A camp was formed at Monk's-Corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines were requeſted to rendezvous there; but this was ſurpriſed and routed by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The Britiſh having now leſs to fear, extended themſelves to the eaſtward of Cooper River. Two hundred and fifty horſe, and 600 infantry were detached on this ſervice, but nevertheleſs, in the opinion of April 16. a council of war, the weak ſtate of the garriſon made it 18. improper to detach a number ſufficient to attack that ſmall force. About this time Sir Henry Clinton received 20. a re-inforcement of 3000 men from New-York. A ſe-21. cond council of war held four days after the firſt, agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many diſtreſſing inconveniencies, if not altogether impracticable," and adviſed, "that offers of capitulation before their affairs became more critical ſhould be made to General Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford ſecurity to the perſons and property of the inhabitants." Theſe terms being propoſed, were inſtantly rejected, but the garriſon adhered to them, in hopes that ſuccours would arrive from the neighbouring States. The bare offer of capitulating diſpirited the garriſon, but they continued to reſiſt in expectation of favourable events. The Britiſh ſpeedily completed the inveſtiture of the town both by land and water. After Admiral Arbuthnot had paſſed Sullivan's-Iſland, Colonel Pinckney, with 150 of the men under his command, were withdrawn May 6. from that poſt to Charleſton. Soon after the fort on the iſland was ſurrendered without oppoſition to Captain Hudſon of the royal navy. On the ſame day, the remains of the American cavalry which eſcaped from the ſurpriſe

ſurpriſe at Monk's-Corner, on the 14th of April, were again ſupriſed by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton at Laneau's-Ferry on Santee, and the whole either killed, captured, or diſperſed. While every thing proſpered with the Britiſh, Sir Henry Clinton began a correſpondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garriſon in caſe of their ſurrender. Lincoln was diſpoſed to cloſe with them, as far as they reſpected his army, but ſome demur was made with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which, it was hoped, might be obtained on a conference. This was aſked: but Clinton inſtead of granting it, anſwered, "that hoſtilities ſhould re-commence at 8 o'clock." Neverthele ſs, neither party fired till nine. The garriſon then recommenced hoſtilities. The beſiegers immediately followed, and each cannonaded the other with unuſual briſkneſs. The Britiſh batteries of the third parallel opened on this occaſion. Shells and carcaſes were thrown into almoſt all parts of the town, and ſeveral houſes were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garriſon at a leſs diſtance than a hundred yards. The Heſſian chaſſeurs were ſo near the American lines, that with their rifles they could eaſily ſtrike any object that was viſible on them. The Britiſh having croſſed the wet ditch by ſap, advanced within 25 yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general aſſault by land and water. All expectation of ſuccour was at an end: the only hope left was that 9000 men, the flower of the Britiſh army, ſeconded by a naval force, might fail in ſtorming extenſive lines defended by leſs than 3000 men. Under theſe circumſtances, the ſiege was protracted till the 11th. On that day a great number of the citizens addreſſed General Lincoln in a petition, expreſſing their acquieſcence in the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requeſting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before propoſed. The royal commanders, wiſhing to avoid the extremity of a ſtorm, and unwilling to preſs to unconditional ſubmiſſion an enemy, whoſe friendſhip they wiſhed to conciliate,

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liate, returned a favourable anſwer. A capitulation was ſigned, and Major-general Leſlie took poſſeſſion of the town on the next day. The loſs on both ſides during the ſiege was nearly equal. Of the King's troops, 76 were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans 89 were killed, and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were ſurrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garriſon was to march out of town, and to depoſit their arms in front of the works, but the drums were not to beat a Britiſh march, nor the colours to be uncaſed. The continental troops and ſeamen were to keep their baggage, and remain priſoners of war till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their reſpectives homes as priſoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be moleſted by the Britiſh troops in perſon or property. The inhabitants of all conditions to be conſidered as priſoners on parole, and to hold their property on the ſame terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their ſervants, ſwords, piſtols, and baggage, unſearched. They were permitted to ſell their horſes, but not to remove them. A veſſel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's diſpatches unopened.

The numbers which ſurrendered priſoners of war, incluſive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, was above 5000, but the proper garriſon at the time of the ſurrender did not exceed 2500. The preciſe number of privates in the continental army was 1977, of which number 500 were in the hoſpitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and conſiſted of 1 Major-general, 6 Brigadiers, 9 Colonels, 14 Lieutenant-colonels, 15 Majors, 84 Captains, 84 Lieutenants, 32 Second Lieutenants and Enſigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were moſtly militia officers, from a ſenſe of honour repaired to the defence of Charleſton, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their reſpective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the firſt inſtance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unſucceſsful event, with

with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the Union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risquing too much for their defence.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on General Lincoln, for attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander in chief of the American army. Charleston was the only considerable town in the southern extreme of the confederacy, and for its preservation, South-Carolina and the adjacent States seemed willing to make great exertions. The re-inforcements promised for its defence were fully sufficient for that purpose. The Congress, and the States of North and South Carolina, gave General Lincoln ground to expect an army of 9900 men to second his operations, but from a variety of causes his army, including the militia, was little more than one third of that number. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before he could be ascertained of the futility of these assurances, the British had taken such a position, that in the opinion of good judges a retreat could not be successfully made.

Shortly after the surrender, the commander in chief adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in an hand-bill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority: "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government—That the commander in chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success, but as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed, "That they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order, but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "That when on service, they

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would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provifions, in the fame manner as the King's troops." About the fame time, Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any perfon fhould thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the eftablifhment of his Majefty's government in that country, or fhould under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other perfon or perfons fo to do, or who fhould hinder the King's faithful fubjects from joining his forces, or from performing thofe duties their allegiance required, fuch perfons fhould be treated with the utmoft feverity, and their eftates be immediately feized for confifcation." In a few days after, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commiffioners for reftoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with fome exceptions, "Pardon for their paft treafonable offences, and a re-inftatement in the poffeffion of all thofe rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free Britifh government exempt from taxation, except by their own legiflatures."

The capital having furrendered, the next object with the Britifh was to fecure the general fubmiffion of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they pofted garrifons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They alfo marched with upwards of 2000 men towards North-Carolina. This caufed an immediate retreat of fome parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlefton. One of thefe, confifting of about 300 continentals commanded by Colonel Buford, was overtaken at Wachaws by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton and completely defeated. Five out of fix of the whole were either killed or fo badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made fuch ineffectual oppofition as only to kill 12 and wound 5 of the Britifh. This great difproportion of the killed on the two fides, arofe from the circumftance that Tarleton's party refufed quarter to the Americans after they had ceafed to refift and laid down their arms.

Sir

Sir Henry Clinton having left about 4000 men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure the command devolved on Lieutenant-general Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South-Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North-Carolina. Earl Cornwallis dispatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His Lordship committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South-Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the States might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, Sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, Sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them, in restoring the country to peace. At this crisis every bias in favour of Congress was removed. Their armies in the southern States were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth to those of the inhabitants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence

quence of oppoſing its re-eſtabliſhment. While there was no regular army within 400 miles to aid the friends of independence, the Britiſh were in force poſted over all the country. The people were thus left to themſelves, or rather ſtrongly impelled to abandon an apparently ſinking cauſe, and arrange themſelves on the ſide of the conquerors. Under theſe favourable circumſtances, the experiment was made, for ſupporting the Britiſh intereſt by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies or republican demagogues. It ſoon appeared that the diſguiſe which fear had impoſed, ſubſiſted no longer than the preſent danger, and that the minds of the people though overawed were actuated by an hoſtile ſpirit. In proſecuting the ſcheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which previous ſucceſſes had procured was diſturbed, and that aſcendency which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to ſubmiſſion with many, was a hope of obtaining a reſpite from the calamities of war, under the ſhelter of Britiſh protection. Such were not leſs aſtoniſhed than confounded, on finding themſelves virtually called upon to take arms in ſupport of royal government. This was done in the following manner: after the inhabitants by the ſpecious promiſes of protection and ſecurity, had generally ſubmitted as ſubjects, or taken their parole as priſoners of war, a proclamation was iſſued by Sir Henry Clinton, which ſet forth, "That it was proper for all perſons to take an active part in ſettling and ſecuring his Majeſty's government"—And in which it was declared, "That all the inhabitants of the province who were then priſoners on parole (thoſe who were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleſton, and ſuch as were in actual confinement excepted) ſhould, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and reſtored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was in the ſame proclamation farther declared, that all perſons under the deſcription abovementioned, who ſhould afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his Majeſty's government, ſhould be conſidered as enemies and rebels to the ſame, and treated accordingly

accordingly." It was deſigned by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants, from priſoners to citizens, to bring them into a dilemma which would force them to take an active part in ſettling and ſecuring the royal government. It involved a majority in the neceſſity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a Britiſh militia. With this proclamation the declenſion of Britiſh authority commenced, for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear or convenience, had generally ſubmitted, the greateſt part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and ſhuddered at the thought of taking arms againſt them. Among ſuch it was ſaid, "if we muſt fight, let it be on the ſide of America, our friends and countrymen." A great number conſidering this proclamation as a diſcharge from their paroles, armed themſelves in ſelf-defence, being induced thereto by the royal menaces, that they who did not return to their allegiance as Britiſh ſubjects, muſt expect to be treated as rebels. A greater number from being in the power of the Britiſh, exchanged their paroles as priſoners for the protection of ſubjects, but this was done in many caſes with a ſecret reſervation of breaking the compulſory engagement when a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf.

A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the State, rejoiced in the aſcendency of the royal arms, but their number was inconſiderable, in compariſon with the multitude who were obliged by neceſſity, or induced by convenience, to accept of Britiſh protection.

The precautions taken to prevent the riſing of the royaliſts in North-Carolina, did not anſwer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of Col. Moore, took up arms, and were in a few days defeated by the Whig militia, commanded by Gen. Rutherford. Col. Bryan, another loyaliſt, though equally injudicious as to time, was ſucceſsful; he reached the 71ſt regiment ſtationed in the Cheraws with about 800 men, aſſembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While

While the conquerors were endeavouring to ſtrengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their intereſts. Governor Rutledge, who, during the ſiege of Charleſton, had been requeſted by General Lincoln to go out of town, was induſtriouſly and ſuccefsfully negociating with North-Carolina, Virginia, and Congreſs, to obtain a force for checking the progreſs of the Britiſh arms. Repreſentations to the ſame effect had alſo been made in due time by Gen. Lincoln. Congreſs ordered a conſiderable detachment from their main army to be marched to the ſouthward. North-Carolina alſo ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the Britiſh advanced to the upper country of South-Carolina, a conſiderable number of determined Whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this claſs was Colonel Sumter, a diſtinguiſhed partiſan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South-Carolina made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own State, and took the field againſt the victorious Britiſh, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther reſiſtance. This unexpected impediment to the extenſion of Britiſh conqueſts, rouſed all the paſſions which diſappointed ambition can inſpire. Previous ſucceſſes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of diſtinguiſhed rank among the conquerors of America, but the renewal of hoſtilities obſcured the pleaſing proſpect. Fluſhed with the victories they had gained in the firſt of the campaign, and believing every thing told them favourable to their wiſhes to be true, they conceived that they had little to fear on the ſouth ſide of Virginia. When experience refuted theſe hopes, they were tranſported with indignation againſt the inhabitants, and confined ſeveral of them on ſuſpicion of their being acceſſary to the recommencement of hoſtilities.

The firſt effort of renewed warfare was two months after the fall of Charleſton, when 133 of Col. Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were poſted in a lane at William-

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ſon's plantation. This was the firſt advantage gained over the Britiſh, ſince their landing in the beginning of the year. The ſteady perſevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-weſtern frontier of South-Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join Colonel Sumter, though oppoſition to the Britiſh government had entirely ceaſed in every other part of the State. His troops in a few days amounted to 600 men. With this increaſe of ſtrength, he made a ſpirited attack on a party of the Britiſh at Rocky Mount, but as he had no artillery, and they were ſecured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impreſſion upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Senſible that the minds of men are influenced by enterpriſe, and that to keep militia together, it is neceſſary to employ them, this active partiſan attacked another of the royal detachments, conſiſting of the Prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of Tories poſted at the Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales' regiment was almoſt totally deſtroyed. From 278 it was reduced to 9. The loyaliſts, who were of that party which had advanced from North-Carolina under Col. Bryan, were diſperſed. The panic occaſioned by the fall of Charleſton daily abated. The Whig militia on the extremities of the State formed themſelves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and ſometimes attacked detachments of the Britiſh army, but more frequently thoſe of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were co-operating with the King's forces. While Sumter kept up the ſpirits of the people by a ſucceſſion of gallant enterprizes, a reſpectable continental force was advancing through the middle States, for the relief of their ſouthern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleſton, orders were given for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from Gen. Waſhington's head quarters to South-Carolina, but the Quarter-maſter-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as ſoon as was intended.

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The manufacturers employed in providing for the army would neither go on with their buſineſs, nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring they had ſuffered ſo much from the depreciation of the money, that they

would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern States required an aid from the northern army, to be marched through the intermediate space of 800 miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were with great exertions at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, and landed soon after at Petersburg, and thence proceeded through the country towards South-Carolina This force was at first put under the command of Major Gen. Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of Gen. Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the southern army, would re-animate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well-cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: but Gen. Gates on taking the command did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the States that he should proceed immediately with his army on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny, but the officers who shared every calamity in common with the privates interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches in the place of bread; they were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation.

ſituation. The wit and humour diſplayed on the occaſion contributed not a little to reconcile them to their ſufferings. The American army having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, ſand-hills, and ſwamps, reached Clermont, 13 miles from Camden. The next day General Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South-Carolina, Lord Rawdon concentered his force at Camden. The retreat of the Britiſh from their out-poſts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new ſubjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favour of Congreſs. The people were daily more diſſatisfied with their ſituation. Tired of war, they had ſubmitted to Britiſh government with the expectation of bettering their condition, but they ſoon found their miſtake. The greateſt addreſs ſhould have been practiſed towards the inhabitants, in order to ſecond the views of the Parent State in re-uniting the revolted Colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of ſubjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate taſk was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amaſſing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the diſſevered members of the empire. Inſtead of increaſing the number of real friends to royal government, they diſguſted thoſe that they found. The high-ſpirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and inſolence, rejoiced in the proſpect of freeing their country from its oppreſſors. Motives of this kind, together with a prevailing attachment to the cauſe of independence, induced many to break through all ties to join Gen. Gates, and more to wiſh him the completeſt ſucceſs.

The ſimilarity of language and appearance between the Britiſh and American armies, gave opportunities for impoſing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with a party, by aſſuming the name and dreſs of Ameri-

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cans, paſſed themſelves near Black River for the advance of General Gates' army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley to co-operate with their ſuppoſed friends, but after ſome time the veil being thrown aſide, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as priſoners.

General Gates, on reaching the frontier of South-Carolina, iſſued a proclamation, inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in reſcuing themſelves and their country, from the oppreſſion of a government impoſed on them by the ruffian hand of conqueſt." He alſo gave "aſſurances of forgiveneſs and perfect ſecurity to ſuch of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of ſanguinary puniſhment, the menace of confiſcation, and the arbitrary meaſures of military domination, apparently to acquieſce under the Britiſh government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance, and ſupport to a tyranny which the indignant ſouls of citizens reſolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at with horror and deteſtation," excepting only from this amneſty, "thoſe who in the hour of devaſtation had exerciſed acts of barbarity and depredation on the perſons and property of their fellow citizens." The army with which Gates advanced, was by the arrival of Stephens' militia, increaſed nearly to 4000 men, but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry and 70 cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Lord Cornwallis haſtened from Charleſton to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his Lordſhip found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry. This inferior number would have juſtified a retreat, but he choſe rather to ſtake his fortune on the deciſion of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the ſame night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible poſition, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order: Colonel Armand's advance

cavalry;

cavalry; Colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of Col. Armand's in Indian-file, 200 yards from the road. Major Armſtrong's light infantry in the ſame order as Colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, compoſed of the advanced piquets, firſt brigade of Maryland, ſecond brigade of Maryland—diviſion of North-Carolina, Virginia rear guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and ſupport the cavalry, if it ſhould be attacked by the Britiſh cavalry, and Colonel Armand was directed in that caſe to ſtand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded in the firſt fire, fell back on others, who recoiled ſo ſuddenly, that the firſt Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confuſion. This firſt impreſſion ſtruck deep, and diſpirited the militia. The American army ſoon recovered its order, and both they and their adverſaries kept their ground, and occaſionally ſkirmiſhed through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a moſt excellent officer, on whoſe abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a ſevere and general engagement took place. At the firſt onſet, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the Britiſh infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmoſt precipitation fled from the field. A conſiderable part of the North-Carolina militia followed the unworthy example, but the continentals who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the Britiſh, ſtood their ground and maintained the conflict with great reſolution. Never did men acquit themſelves better: for ſome time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable body of priſoners: overpowered at laſt by numbers, and nearly ſurrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In juſ-

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tice to the North-Carolina militia, it ſhould be remarked that part of the brigade commanded by General Gregory acquitted themſelves well. They were formed immediately on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. Gen. Gregory himſelf was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men, and ſeveral of his brigade, who were made priſoners, had no wounds except from bayonets.* Two hundred and ninety American wounded priſoners were carried into Camden after this action ; of this number 206 were continentals, 82 were North-Carolina militia, and 2 were Virginia militia. The reſiſtance made by each corps may in ſome degree be eſtimated from the number of wounded. The Americans loſt the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, upwards of 200 waggons, and the greateſt part of their baggage, almoſt all their officers were ſeparated from their reſpective commands. Every corps was broken in action and diſperſed. The fugitives, who fled by the common road, were purſued above 20 miles by the horſe of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage, and waggons. Baron de Kalb, the ſecond in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken priſoner, and died on the next day of his wounds. The Baron, who was a German by birth, had long been in the French ſervice ; he had travelled through the Britiſh provinces, about the time of the ſtamp act, and is ſaid to have reported to his ſuperiors on his return, " that the Coloniſts were ſo firmly and univerſally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could ſhake their loyalty." The Congreſs reſolved that a monument ſhould be erected to his memory in Annapolis, with a very honourable inſcription. Gen. Rutherford, of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken priſoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeneſs of their victory was in a great degree owing to their ſuperiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loſs is ſuppoſed to have amounted to ſeveral hundreds. To add to the

* This detail was furniſhed by Mr. Williamſon, ſurgeon-general of the North-Carolina militia, who after the battle went into Camden with a flag.

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diſtreſſes of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the ſurpriſe and diſperſion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the Britiſh army, the latter, who had previouſly taken poſt between Camden and Charleſton, took a number of priſoners, and captured ſundry Britiſh ſtores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his ſuperior officer, he began to retreat with his priſoners and ſtores. Tarleton with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, purſued with ſuch celerity and addreſs as to overtake and ſurprize this party at Fiſhing Creek. The Britiſh rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no ſleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her firſt law ſelf-preſervation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a ſurprize, but his videttes were ſo overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few to ſtand their ground for a ſhort time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He loſt all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or diſperſed. The priſoners he had lately taken were all re-taken. On the 17th and 18th of Aug. about 150 of Gates' army rendezvouſed at Charlotte. Theſe had reaſon to apprehend that they would be immediately purſued and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of proviſions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to retreat to Saliſbury. A circumſtantial detail of this would be the picture of complicated wretchedneſs. There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off. The inhabitants hourly expecting the Britiſh to advance into their ſettlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the ſuffering ſoldiers. Objects of diſtreſs occurred in every quarter. There were many who ſtood in need of kind aſſiſtance, but there were few who could give it to them. Several men were to be ſeen with but one arm, and ſome without any. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry, and confuſion, promiſcuouſly marked the gloomy

gloomy ſcene. Under theſe circumſtances, the remains of that numerous army which had lately cauſed ſuch terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Saliſbury, and ſoon after to Hillſborough. General Gates had previouſly retired to this laſt place, and was there in concert with the government of North-Carolina, deviſing plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppoſe Lord Cornwallis, yet the ſeaſon and bad health of his army, reſtrained him from purſuing his conqueſts. By the complete diſperſion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The preſent moment of triumph ſeemed therefore the moſt favourable conjuncture for breaking the ſpirits of thoſe who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Congreſs, a ſeverer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds which involved thouſands in diſtreſs, and not a few in the loſs of life. The Britiſh conceived themſelves in poſſeſſion of the rights of ſovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to aſſert their independence, expoſed them to the penal conſequences of treaſon and rebellion. Influenced by theſe opinions, and tranſported with indignation againſt the inhabitants, they violated the rights which are held ſacred between independent hoſtile nations. Orders were given by Lord Cornwallis, "that all the inhabitants of the province who had ſubmitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, ſhould be puniſhed with the greateſt rigour—that they ſhould be impriſoned, and their whole property taken from them or deſtroyed." He alſo ordered in the moſt poſitive manner, "that every militia man, who had born arms with the Britiſh, and afterwards joined the Americans, ſhould be put to death." At Auguſta, at Camden, and elſewhere, ſeveral of the inhabitants were hanged in conſequence of theſe orders. The men who ſuffered had been compelled by the neceſſities of their families, and the proſpect of ſaving their property, to make an involuntary ſubmiſſion to the royal conquerors. Experience ſoon taught them the inefficacy of theſe ſubmiſſions. This in their

their opinion abſolved them from the obligations of their engagements to ſupport the royal cauſe, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus circumſtanced, with the ſeverity of puniſhment uſually inflicted on deſerters and traitors, might have a political tendency to diſcourage farther revolts, but the impartial world muſt regret that the unavoidable horrors of war ſhould be aggravated by ſuch deliberate effuſions of human blood.

Notwithſtanding the deciſive ſuperiority of the Britiſh armies in South-Carolina, ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, reſiſted every temptation to reſume the character of ſubjects. To enforce a general ſubmiſſion, orders were given by Lord Cornwallis immediately after the victory, to ſend out of South-Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieut. Gov. Gadſden, moſt of the civil and militia officers, and ſome others, who had declined exchanging their paroles A for the protection of Britiſh ſubjects, were taken up, put on board a veſſel in the harbour, and ſent to St. Auguſtine. General Moultrie remonſtrated againſt the confinement and removal of theſe gentlemen, as contrary to their rights derived from the capitulation of Charleſton. They at the ſame time challenged their adverſaries to prove any conduct of theirs, which merited expulſion from their country and families. They received no farther ſatisfaction, than that the meaſure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were ſeriouſly reſolved to remove from the country all who refuſed to become ſubjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens of South-Carolina, who remained priſoners on parole, were ſent off to the ſame place in leſs than three months. Gen. Rutherford and Col Iſaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had lately been taken near Camden, were aſſociated with them.

To compel the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government, Lord Cornwallis, in about four weeks after his victory, iſſued a proclamation for the ſequeſtration of all eſtates belonging to the active friends of independence. By Sep

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this he conſtituted "John Cruden, commiſſioner, with full power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his poſſeſſion the eſtates both real and perſonal (not included in the capitulation of Charleſton) of thoſe in the ſervice, or acting under the authority of the rebel Congreſs, and alſo the eſtates, both real and perſonal, of thoſe perſons, who by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifeſted a wicked and deſperate perſeverance in oppoſing the re-eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's juſt and lawful authority;" and it was farther declared, "That any perſon or perſons obſtructing or impeding the ſaid commiſſioner in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwiſe, ſhould, on conviction, be puniſhed as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to independence was now conſidered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became Britiſh ſubjects. The miſchievous effects of ſlavery, in facilitating the conqueſt of the country, now became apparent. As the ſlaves had no intereſt at ſtake, the ſubjugation of the State was a matter of no conſequence to them. Inſtead of aiding in its defence, they by a variety of means threw the weight of their little influence into the oppoſite ſcale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to ſupport the cauſe of America, illuſtrious ſacrifices were made at the ſhrine of liberty. Several of the richeſt men in the State ſuffered their fortunes to remain in the power and poſſeſſion of their conquerors, rather than ſtain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotiſm of the ladies contributed much to this firmneſs; they crowded on board priſon ſhips, and other places of confinement, to ſolace their ſuffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themſelves at concerts and aſſemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair ſex to aſſociate with them; but no ſooner was an American officer introduced as a priſoner, than his company was ſought for, and his perſon treated with every poſſible mark of attention and reſpect. On other occaſions the ladies in a great meaſure retired

retired from the public eye, wept over the diſtreſſes of their country, and gave every proof of the warmeſt attachment to its ſuffering cauſe. Among the numbers who were baniſhed from their families, and whoſe property was ſeized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their ſons, huſbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perſeverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to ſuffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progreſs of the war, they were alſo comprehended under a general ſentence of baniſhment, with equal reſolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home, and followed their huſbands into priſon ſhips and diſtant lands, where they were reduced to the neceſſity of receiving charity.

Animated by ſuch examples, as well as by a high ſenſe of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their firſt reſolution, of riſquing life and fortune in ſupport of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South-Carolina had been attended with almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſs. Their ſtandards overſpread the country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all oppoſition.

The Britiſh Miniſtry by this flattering poſture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of ſubjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of ſpeedily re-uniting the diſſevered members of the empire. It was now aſſerted with a confidence bordering on preſumption, that ſuch troops as fought at Camden, put under ſuch a commander as Lord Cornwallis, would ſoon extirpate rebellion, ſo effectually as to leave no veſtige of it in America. The Britiſh Miniſtry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wiſdom and proweſs, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfal, an uſeful leſſon to the world.

The diſaſter of the army under General Gates overſpread at firſt the face of American affairs, with a diſmal

mal gloom, but the day of profperity to the United States began, as will appear in the fequel, from that moment to dawn. Their profpects brightened up, while thofe of their enemies were obfcured by difgrace, broken by defeat, and at loft covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more infolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became refolute and determined.

We have feen Sumter penetrating into South-Carolina, and re-commencing a military oppofition to Britifh government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge, to the rank of Brigadier-general. About the fame time Marion was promoted to the fame rank, and in the north-eaftern extremities of the State, fuccefsfully profecuted a fimilar plan. This valuable officer after the furrender of Charlefton retreated to North-Carolina. On the advance of General Gates, he obtained a command of fixteen men. With thefe he penetrated through the country, and took a pofition near the Santee. On the defeat of General Gates, he was compelled to abandon the State, but returned after an abfence of a few days. For feveral weeks he had under his command only 70 men. At one time hardfhips and dangers reduced that number to 25, yet with this inconfiderable number, he fecured himfelf in the midft of furrounding foes. Various fchemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned fcores of houfes on Pedee, Lynch's Creek, and Black River, belonging to fuch as were fuppofed to do duty with Marion, or to be fubfervient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and defpair co-operated with patriotifm, to make thefe ruined men keep the field. Having no houfes to fhelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For feveral months, Marion and his party were obliged to fleep in the open air, and to fhelter themfelves in the receffes of deep fwamps. From thefe retreats they fallied out, whenever an opportunity of harraffing the enemy, or of ferving their country, prefented itfelf.

Oppofition

Oppoſition to Britiſh government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the State. The diſpoſition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not overcome by his defeat. The ſpirit of the people was overawed, but not ſubdued. The ſeverity with which revolters who fell into the hands of the Britiſh were treated, induced thoſe who eſcaped to perſevere and ſeek ſafety in ſwamps.

From the time of the general ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants in 1780, pains had been taken to increaſe the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. The Britiſh exhorted the people to form a royal militia, by repreſenting that every proſpect of ſucceeding in their ſcheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther oppoſition would only be a prolongation of their diſtreſſes, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguſon of the 71ſt regiment was particularly active in this buſineſs. He viſited the ſettlements of the diſaffected to the American cauſe, and collected a corps of militia of that deſcription, from which much active ſervice was expected. He advanced to the north-weſtern ſettlements, to hold communication with the loyaliſts of both Carolinas. From his preſence, together with aſſurances of an early movement of the royal army into North-Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be rouſed to activity in the ſervice of their King. In the mean time every preparation was made for urging offenſive operations, as ſoon as the ſeaſon and the ſtate of the ſtores would permit.

That ſpirit of enterprize, which has already been mentioned as beginning to revive among the American militia about this time, prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the Britiſh poſt at Auguſta in Georgia; but in this he failed and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguſon, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains, and at a conſiderable diſtance from ſupport. Theſe circumſtances, together with the depredations of the loyaliſts, induced thoſe hardy republicans, who reſide on the weſt ſide of the Allegany mountains,

to form an enterprize for reducing that diſtinguiſhed partiſan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent deſign, a powerful combination of ſeveral detached commanders of ſeveral adjacent States, with their reſpective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel of North-Carolina, together with Colonels Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South-Carolina, all rendezvouſed together, with a number of men, amounting to 1600, though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulſe on their own minds. They had ſo little of the mechaniſm of a regular army, that the Colonels of ſome of the States, by common conſent, commanded each day alternately. The hardſhips theſe volunteers underwent were very great; ſome of them ſubſiſted for weeks together, without taſting bread or ſalt, or ſpirituous liquors, and ſlept in the woods without blankets. The running ſtream quenched their thirſt; at night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at moſt the limbs of trees, were their only covering; ears of corn, or pompions thrown into the fire, with occaſional ſupplies of beef or veniſon, killed and roaſted in the woods, were the chief articles of their proviſions. They had neither commiſſaries, quarter-maſters, nor ſtores of any kind. They ſelected about a thouſand of their beſt men, and mounted them on their fleeteſt horſes; theſe attacked Major Ferguſon on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. The Americans formed three parties, Col. Lacey of South-Carolina led one, which attacked on the weſt end. The two others were commanded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the eaſt end, and the other in the center. Ferguſon with great boldneſs attacked the aſſailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them ſucceſſively to retire, but they only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their

their fire in almoſt every direction. The Britiſh being uncovered, were aimed at by the American markſmen, and many of them were ſlain. An unuſual number of the killed were found to have been ſhot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with ſuch exactneſs, that they killed each other when taking ſight, ſo effectually, that their eyes remained after they were dead, one ſhut and the other open, in the uſual manner of markſmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguſon diſplayed as much bravery as was poſſible in his ſituation; but his encampment on the top of the mountain was not well choſen, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themſelves in their approaches. Had he purſued his march on charging and driving the firſt party of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with the moſt of his men, but his unconquerable ſpirit diſdained either to flee or to ſurrender. After a ſevere conflict he received a mortal wound. No chance of eſcape being left, and all proſpect of ſucceſsful reſiſtance being at an end, the conteſt was ended by the ſubmiſſion of the ſurvivors. Upwards of 800 became priſoners, and 225 had been previouſly killed or wounded. Very few of the aſſailants fell, but in their number was Col. Williams, a diſtinguiſhed militia officer in Ninety-ſix diſtrict, who had been very active in oppoſing the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government. Ten of the royal militia who had ſurrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this meaſure by the ſeverity of the Britiſh, who had lately hanged ſeveral of the captured Americans in South-Carolina and Georgia. They alſo alledged, that the men who ſuffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land. The fall of Ferguſon was in itſelf a great loſs to the royal cauſe. He poſſeſſed ſuperior abilities as a partiſan, and his ſpirit of enterpriſe was uncommon. To a diſtinguiſhed capacity for planning great deſigns, he alſo added the practical abilities neceſſary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree fruſtrated a well-concerted ſcheme for ſtrengthening

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the Britiſh army by the co-operation of the Tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to diſcipline and prepare for active ſervice. The total rout of the party which had joined Major Ferguſon, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyaliſts. The ſame timid caution which made them averſe to joining their countrymen in oppoſing the claims of Great Britain, reſtrained them from riſquing any more in ſupport of the royal cauſe. Henceforward they waited to ſee how the ſcales were likely to incline, and reſerved themſelves till the Britiſh army, by its own unaſſiſted efforts, ſhould gain a decided ſuperiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, Lord Cornwallis left a ſmall force in that village, and marched with the main army towards Saliſbury, intending to puſh forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North-Carolina militia was very induſtrious and ſucceſsful in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made ſure of their objects. The late conquerors found their ſituation very uneaſy, being expoſed to unſeen dangers if they attempted to make an excurſion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. The defeat of Major Ferguſon, added to theſe circumſtances, gave a ſerious alarm to Lord Cornwallis, and he ſoon after retreated to Winnſborough. As he retired, the militia took ſeveral of his waggons, and ſingle men often rode up within gunſhot of his army, diſcharged their pieces, and made their eſcape. The panic occaſioned by the defeat of General Gates had in a great meaſure worn off. The defeat of Major Ferguſon, and the conſequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field, and the neceſſity of the times induced them to ſubmit to ſtricter diſcipline. Sumter, ſoon after the diſperſion of his corps on the 18th of Auguſt, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partly from thoſe who had eſcaped on that day. With theſe, though for three months there was no continental army in the State, he conſtantly kept the field in ſupport of American independence. He varied his poſition from time

1780.

time to time about Evoree, Broad, and Tyger Rivers, and had frequent ſhirmiſhes with his adverſaries. Having mounted his followers, he infeſted the Britiſh parties with frequent excurſions—beat up their quarters—intercepted their convoys, and ſo harraſſed them with ſucceſſive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His ſpirit of enterprize was ſo particularly injurious to the Britiſh, that they laid ſundry plans for deſtroying his force, but they all failed in the execution. He was attacked at Broad River by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the Britiſh were defeated, and their commanding officer taken priſoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black-Stocks, near Tyger River, by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with 170 dragoons and 80 men of the 63d regiment. A conſiderable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which they fired with ſecurity. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but being unable to diſlodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet poſſeſſion of the field. The loſs of the Britiſh in this action was conſiderable. Among their killed were three officers, Major Money, Lieuts. Gibſon and Cope. The Americans loſt very few, but General Sumter received a wound, which for ſeveral months interrupted his gallant enterprizes in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were diſcouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he diſplayed in ſundry attacks on the Britiſh detachments, procured him the applauſe of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congreſs.

Nov. 12.

Nov. 20.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was induſtriouſly preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillſbury he advanced to Saliſbury, and very ſoon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that

Nov.

influence

influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, Congreſs reſolved to ſuperſede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former reſolve, that whoever loſt a poſt ſhould be ſubject to a court of inquiry. The caſes were no ways parallel, he had loſt a battle but not a poſt. The only charge that could be exhibited againſt General Gates was that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuſe him of no military crime, unleſs that to be unſucceſsful might be reckoned ſo. The public, ſore with their loſſes, were deſirous of a change, and Congreſs found it neceſſary to gratify them, though at the expence of the feelings of one of their beſt, and till Auguſt 1780, one of their moſt ſucceſsful officers. Virginia did not ſo ſoon forget Saratoga. When General Gates was at Richmond on his way home from Carolina, the Houſe of Burgeſſes of that State unanimouſly reſolved, "That a committee of four be appointed to wait on General Gates, and aſſure him of their high regard and eſteem, and that the remembrance of his former glorious ſervices could not be obliterated by any reverſe of fortune; but that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of teſtifying to the world the gratitude which the country owed to him in his military character.

Theſe events, together with a few important ſkirmiſhes not worthy of being particularly mentioned, cloſed the campaign of 1780 in the ſouthern States. They afforded ample evidence of the folly of proſecuting the American war. Though Britiſh conqueſts had rapidly ſucceeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unſubdued, or rather more alienated from every idea of returning to their former allegiance. Such was their temper, that the expence of retaining them in ſubjection would have exceeded all the profits of the conqueſts. Britiſh garriſons kept down open reſiſtance in the vicinity of the places where they were eſtabliſhed, but as ſoon as they were withdrawn, and the people left to themſelves, a ſpirit of revolt hoſtile to Great Britain always diſplayed itſelf,

ſelf, and the ſtandard of independence, whenſoever it was prudently raiſed, never wanted followers from the active and ſpirited part of the community.

CHAP. XX.

Campaign of 1780 in the Northern States.

WHILE the war raged in South-Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern States, was barren of important events. At the cloſe of the preceding campaign, the American northern army took poſt at Morriſtown and built themſelves huts, agreeably to the practice which had been firſt introduced at Valley-Forge. This poſition was well calculated to cover the country from the excurſions of the Britiſh, being only 20 miles from New-York.

Lord Sterling made an ineffectual attempt to ſurpriſe a party of the enemy on Staten-Iſland. While he was on the iſland, a number of perſons from the Jerſey ſide paſſed over and plundered the inhabitants who had ſubmitted to the Britiſh government. In theſe times of confuſion, licentious perſons fixed themſelves near the lines, which divided the Britiſh from the Americans. Whenſoever an opportunity offered, they were in the habit of going within the ſettlements of the oppoſite party, and under the pretence of diſtreſſing their enemies, committed the moſt ſhameful depredations. In the firſt months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition againſt Charleſton, the Britiſh were apprehenſive for their ſafety in New-York. The rare circumſtance which then exiſted of a connection between the main and York-Iſland by means of ice, ſeemed to invite to the enterpriſe, but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant-general Kniphauſen, who then commanded in New-York, apprehending ſuch a deſign, embodied the inhabitants of the city as a militia for its defence. They very cheerfully formed themſelves into companies, and diſcovered great zeal in the ſervice.

An incurſion was made into Jerſey from New-York with 5000 men, commanded by Lieutenant-general Kniphauſen. They landed at Elizabeth-Town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a Preſbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability, and influence, whoſe ſucceſsful exertions in animating the Jerſey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the Britiſh. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a ſoldier came to his houſe in his abſence, and ſhot his wife Mrs. Caldwell inſtantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room in which ſhe was ſitting with her children. Her body, at the requeſt of an officer of the new levies, was moved to ſome diſtance, and then the houſe and every thing in it was reduced to aſhes. The Britiſh burnt about 12 other houſes, and alſo the Preſbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther oppoſed by General Maxwell, who with a few continental troops was prepared to diſpute its paſſage. They made a halt and ſoon after returned to Elizabeth-Town. Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morriſtown marched to oppoſe them. While this royal detachment was in Jerſey, Sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious troops from Charleſton to New-York. He ordered a re-inforcement to Kniphauſen, and the whole advanced a ſecond time towards Springfield. They were now oppoſed by General Greene, with a conſiderable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel with his regiment and a piece of artillery was poſted to ſecure the bridge in front of the town. A ſevere action took place, which laſted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took poſt with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Inſtead of this the Britiſh began to burn the town Near fifty dwellings houſes were reduced to aſhes. The Britiſh then retreated, but were purſued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabeth-Town

Town. The next day they ſet out on their return tc New-York. The loſs of the Americans in the action was about 80, and that of the Britiſh was ſuppoſed to be conſiderably more. It is difficult to tell what was the preciſe object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get poſſeſſion of Morriſtown, and to deſtroy the American ſtores. Perhaps they flattered themſelves that the inhabitants were ſo diſpirited by the recent loſs of Charleſton, that they would ſubmit without reſiſtance; and that the ſoldiers of the continental army would deſert to them: but if theſe were their views, they were diſappointed in both. The firm oppoſition which was made by the Jerſey farmers, contraſted with the conduct of the ſame people in the year 1776, made it evident that not only their averſion to Great Britain continued in full force, but that the practical habits of ſervice and danger had improved the country militia, ſo as to bring them near to an equality with regular troops.

By ſuch deſultory operations were hoſtilities carried on at this time in the northern States. Individuals were killed, houſes were burnt, and much miſchief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconcilement or ſubjugation.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the Britiſh lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into ſyſtem. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been in the year 1779, permitted to ſet up a diſtinct government in New-York, under a juriſdiction called the honourable board of aſſociated loyaliſts. They had ſomething like a fleet of ſmall privateers and cruiſers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Maſſachuſetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouſes, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They alſo carried off two loaded brigs and two or three ſchooners. In a proclamation they left behind them they obſerved, "That they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends, and connections: and that they conceived themſelves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage

war

war againſt their perſecutors, and to endeavour by every means in their power to obtain compenſation for their ſufferings." Theſe aſſociated loyaliſts eagerly embraced every adventure which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterpriſes were highly lucrative to themſelves, and extremely diſtreſſing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and ſuperior means of tranſportation enabled them to make haſty deſcents and ſucceſsful enterpriſes. A war of plunder in which the feelings of humanity were often ſuſpended, and which tended to no valuable public purpoſe, was carried on in this ſhameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coaſts of the continent, and eſpecially the maritime parts of New-Jerſey, became ſcenes of waſte and havoc.

The diſtreſs which the Americans ſuffered from the diminiſhed value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and ſtill more ſo in the year 1779, did not arrive to its higheſt pitch till the year 1780. Under the preſſure of ſufferings from this cauſe, the officers of the Jerſey line addreſſed a memorial to their ſtate legiſlature, ſetting forth, " That four months pay of a private, would not procure for his family a ſingle buſhel of wheat; that the pay of a Colonel would not purchaſe oats for his horſe; that a common labourer or expreſs rider received four times as much as an American officer." They urged, " That unleſs a ſpeedy and ample remedy was provided, the total diſſolution of their line was inevitable;" and concluded with ſaying, " that their pay ſhould either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in ſomething equivalent." In addition to the inſufficiency of their pay and ſupport, other cauſes of diſcontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raiſed, paid, ſubſiſted, and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great meaſure exchanged for State eſtabliſhments. This miſchievous meaſure partly originated from neceſſity, for State credit was not quite ſo much depreciated as continental. Congreſs not poſſeſſing the means of ſupporting the army, devolved the buſineſs on the component parts of the confederacy. Some States, from their internal

internal ability and local advantages, furnifhed their troops not only with cloathing, but with many conveniencies. Others fupplied them with fome neceffaries, but on a more contracted fcale. A few from their particular fituation could do little or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty, mixed daily and compared circumftances. Thofe who fared worfe than others, were diffatisfied with a fervice which made fuch injurious diftinctions. From caufes of this kind, fuperadded to a complication of wants and fufferings, a difpofition to mutiny began to fhew itfelf in the American army. This broke forth into full action among the foldiers which were ftationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrifon went off in a body. Being purfued fixteen of them were overtaken, and thirteen of the fixteen were inftantly killed. About the fame time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain fubfiftence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reafoned with them, and urged every argument that could either intereft their pride or their paffions. They were reminded of their good conduct, of the important objects for which they were contending, but their anfwer was, " our fufferings are too great, and we want prefent relief." After much expoftulation they were at length prevailed upon to go to their huts. It is remarkable, that this mutinous difpofition of the Connecticut troops, was in a great meafure quelled by the Pennfylvania line, which in a few months, as fhall hereafter be related, planned and executed a much more ferious revolt, than that which they now fuppreffed. While the army was in this feverifh ftate of difcontent from their accumulated diftreffes, a printed paper, addreffed to the foldiers of the continental army, was circulated in the American camp. This was in the following words, " The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falfehoods of the Congrefs and of your commanders, can no longer conceal from you the miferies of your fituation. You are neither fed, cloathed, nor paid. Your numbers are wafting away by ficknefs, famine, and nakednefs, and

rapidly

rapidly ſo by the period of your ſtipulated ſervice being expired. This is now the period to fly from ſlavery and fraud.

"I am happy in acquainting my old countrymen that the affairs of Ireland are fully ſettled, and that Great Britain and Ireland are united as well from intereſt as from affection. I need not tell you who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abuſed. You are both ſenſible that in order to procure your liberty you muſt quit your leaders, and join your real friends, who ſcorn to impoſe upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told you are ſurrounded by a numerous militia. This is alſo falſe. Aſſociate then together, make uſe of your firelocks, and join the Britiſh army, where you will be permitted to diſpoſe of yourſelves as you pleaſe."

About the ſame time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the reduction of Charleſton, and the capture of the whole American ſouthern army. Such was the firmneſs of the common ſoldiery, and ſo ſtrong their attachment to the cauſe of their country, that though danger impelled, want urged, and Britiſh favour invited them to a change of ſides, yet on the arrival of but a ſcanty ſupply of meat for their immediate ſubſiſtence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon deſertion took place.

So great were the neceſſities of the American army, that General Waſhington was obliged to call on the magiſtrates of the adjacent counties for ſpecified quantities of proviſions, to be ſupplied in a given number of days. At other times he was compelled to ſend out detachments of his troops, to take proviſions at the point of the bayonet from the citizens. This expedient at length failed, for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no farther ſupplies. Theſe impreſſments were not only injurious to the morals and diſcipline of the army, but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the ſupport which the American General had previouſly experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their own army, compared

compared with what they suffered from the British. The General, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no alternative but to disband his troops, or to support them by force. The situation of General Washington was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well fed, paid, and cloathed, would have been a work of difficulty; but to retain them in service and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, not only of the comforts, but often of the necessaries of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties Gen. Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary, but various remote causes had concurred about this time to produce an unprecedented deficiency. The seasons both in 1779 and 1780 were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen, who were attached to the cause of independence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls for militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or who from principles of religion held the unlawfulness of war, or who were secretly attached to the royal interest, had been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reasoned that all labour on their farms, beyond a bare supply of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the principal cause of the sufferings of the army was the daily diminishing value of the continental bills of credit. The farmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment of taxes, the less quantity of country produce would discharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the longer they kept their grain on hand, the more of the paper currency was obtained in exchange for it. This either discouraged them from selling, or made them very tardy in coming to market. Many secreted their provisions

ſions and denied their having any, while others who were contiguous to the Britiſh, ſecretly ſold to them for gold or ſilver. The patriotiſm which at the commencement of the war had led ſo many to ſacrifice property for the good of their country, had in a great degree ſubſided. Though they ſtill retained their good wiſhes for the cauſe, yet theſe did not carry them ſo far as to induce a willingneſs to exchange the hard-earned produce of their farms, for a paper currency of a daily diminiſhing value. For proviſions carried to New-York, the farmers received real money, but for what was carried to the Americans, they only received paper. The value of the firſt was known, of the other daily varying, but in an unceaſing progreſſion from bad to worſe. Laws were made againſt this intercourſe, but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been, in the evaſion of which multitudes find an immediate intereſt.

In addition to theſe diſaſters from ſhort crops, and depreciating money, diſorder and confuſion pervaded the departments for ſupplying the army. Syſtems for theſe purpoſes had been haſtily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end propoſed. To provide for an army under the beſt eſtabliſhment, and with a full military cheſt, is a work of difficulty, and though guarded by the precautions which time and experience have ſuggeſted, opens a door to many frauds; but it was the hard caſe of the Americans to be called on to diſcharge this duty without ſufficient knowledge of the buſineſs, and under ill-digeſted ſyſtems, and with a paper currency that was not two days of the ſame value. Abuſes crept in; frauds were practiſed, œconomy was exiled.

To obviate theſe evils, Congreſs adopted the expedient of ſending a committee of their own body to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler of New-York, Mr. Peabody of New-Hampſhire, and Mr. Matthews of South-Carolina, were appointed. They were furniſhed with ample powers and inſtructions to reform abuſes, to alter preceding ſyſtems, and to eſtabliſh new ones in their room. This committee proceeded to camp in May 1780, and thence wrote ſundry letters to Congreſs and

and the States, in which they confirmed the reprefentations previoufly made of the diftreffes and diforders every where prevalent. In particular, they ftated, " that the army was unpaid for five months—that it feldom had more than fix days provifion in advance, and was on feveral occafions for fundry fucceffive days without meat—that the army was deftitute of forage---that the medical department had neither fugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine, nor fpirituous liquors of any kind---that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the fhadow of credit left---that the patience of the foldiers, born down by the preffure of complicated fufferings, was on the point of being exhaufted."

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was at this time pouring it upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the fmalleft difpofition to purchafe fafety by conceffions of any fort. They feemed to rife in the midft of their diftreffes, and to gain ftrength from the preffure of calamities. When Congrefs could neither command money nor credit for the fubfiftence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an affociation to procure a fupply of neceffary articles for their fuffering foldiers. The fum of 300,000 dollars were fubfcribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal defign of which was to purchafe provifions for the troops in the moft prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this inftitution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was inftituted. The lofs of Charlefton, and the fubfequent Britifh victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverfe of what were expected. It being the deliberate refolution of the Americans never to return to the government of Great Britain, fuch unfavourable events as threatened the fubverfion of independence operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was re-kindled. A willingnefs to do, and to fuffer, in the caufe of American liberty, was revived in the breafts of many. Thefe difpofitions were invigorated

rated by private aſſurances, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would, in the courſe of the campaign, ſend a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the States to be in readineſs for this event, Congreſs circulated among them an addreſs, of which the following is a part. "The criſis calls for exertion. Much is to be done in a little time, and every motive that can ſtimulate the mind of man preſents itſelf to view. No period has occurred in this long and glorious ſtruggle, in which indeciſion would be ſo deſtructive on the one hand, and on the other, no conjuncture has been more favourable to great and deciding efforts."

The powers of the committee of Congreſs in the American camp were enlarged ſo far as to authoriſe them to frame and execute ſuch plans as, in their opinion, would moſt effectually draw forth the reſources of the country, in co-operating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote ſundry letters to the States, ſtimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the States for ſpecific ſupplies of every thing neceſſary for their ſupport. To obtain the men it was propoſed to complete the regular regiments by draughts from the militia, and to make up what they fell ſhort of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouſe the activity of the inhabitants. The States nearly exhauſted with the war, ardently wiſhed for its determination. An opportunity now offered for ſtriking a deciſive blow, that might at once, as they ſuppoſed, rid the country of its diſtreſſes. The only thing required on the part of the United States, was to bring into the field 35,009 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their ſupport. The tardineſs of deliberation in Congreſs was in a great meaſure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate eſtimates were made of every article of ſupply neceſſary for the enſuing campaign. Theſe, and alſo the numbers of men wanted, were quotaed on the ten northern States in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to theſe requiſitions,

quisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several States, to be made up by draughts or lots from the militia. The towns in New-England and the counties in the middle States were respectively called on for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New-England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months service. Maryland directed her Lieutenants of counties to class all the property in their respective counties into as many equal classes as there were men wanted, and each class was by law obliged within ten days thereafter, to furnish an able-bodied recruit to serve during the war, and in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county Lieutenants were authorised to procure men at their expence, at any rate not exceeding 15 pounds in every hundred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentered the requisite power in her President, Joseph Reed, and authorised him to draw forth the resources of the State, under certain limitations, and if necessary to declare martial law over the State. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements were speedily passed, but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and dispatch, which military operations require, unless they imitate the policy of monarchies, by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

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While thefe preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promifed by his moft Chriftian Majefty was on its way. As foon as it was known in France, that a refolution was adopted, to fend out troops to the United States, the young French nobility difcovered the greateft zeal to be employed on that fervice. Court favour was fcarcely ever folicited with more earneftnefs, than was the honour of ferving under General Wafhington. The number of applicants was much greater than the fervice required. The difpofition to fupport the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not fecond the ardent wifhes of the French troops. Though they failed from France on the 1ft of May 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the 10th of July following. On that day to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode-Ifland, with a fquadron of feven fail of the line, five frigates, and five fmaller armed veffels. He likewife convoyed a fleet of tranfports with four old French regiments, befides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to 6000 men, all under the command of Lieutenant-general Count de Rochambeau. To the French as foon as they landed poffeffion was given of the forts and batteries on the ifland, and by their exertions, they were foon put in a high ftate of defence. In a few days after their arrival, an addrefs of congratulation from the General Affembly of the State of Rhode-Ifland, was prefented to Count de Rochambeau, in which they expreffed "their moft grateful fenfe of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illuftrious friend and ally the Monarch of France, and alfo gave affurances of every exertion in their power for the fupply of the French forces, with all manner of refrefhments and neceffaries for rendering the fervice happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his anfwer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was deftined for their aid; that he was ordered by the King his mafter to affure them, that his whole power fhould be exerted

exerted for their ſupport. The French troops," he ſaid, "were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and acting under the orders of General Waſhington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an aſſurance, that as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all thoſe under his command, were devoted to their ſervice."

Gen. Waſhington recommended in public orders to the American officers, as a ſymbol of friendſhip and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the ground to be of the firſt colour, and the relief of the ſecond.

The French troops, united both in intereſt and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them againſt the common enemy. The continental army wiſhed for the ſame with equal ardour, One circumſtance alone ſeemed unfavourable to this ſpirit of enterpriſe; this was the deficient cloathing of the Americans; ſome whole lines, officers as well as men, were ſhabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without ſhirts. Such troops, brought along ſide even of allies fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, muſt have been more or leſs than men to feel no degradation on the contraſt.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four ſail of the line at New-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode-Iſland. This inferiority was in three days reverſed, by the arrival of Admiral Greaves with ſix ſail of the line. The Britiſh Admiral, having now a ſuperiority, proceeded to Rhode-Iſland. He ſoon diſcovered that the French were perfectly ſecure from any attack by ſea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charleſton, embarked about 8000 of his beſt men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon-Bay, on Long-Iſland, with the apparent deſign of concurring with the Britiſh fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode-Iſland. When this movement took place, Gen. Waſhington ſet his army in motion, and proceeded to Peek's-Kill. Had Sir Henry Clinton proſecuted what appeared to be his deſign, General Waſhington intended to

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have attacked New-York in his abfence. Preparations were made for this purpofe, but Sir Henry Clinton inftantly turned about from Huntingdon-Bay towards New-York.

In the mean time, the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode-Ifland, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes were neverthelefs indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of his moft Chriftian Majefty, then in the Weft-Indies, under the command of Count de Guichen, the fuperiority would be fo much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to profecute their original intention, of attacking New-York. When the expectations of the Americans were raifed to the higheft pitch, and when they were in great forwardnefs of preparation to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen had failed for France. This difappointment was extremely mortifying. The Americans had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving fuch an aid from their allies, as would enable them to lay effectual fiege to New-York, or to ftrike fome decifive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the duft. Another campaign was anticipated, and new fhades were added to the deep cloud which for fome time paft had overfhadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780 paffed away in the northern States, as has been related, in fucceffive difappointments, and re-iterated diftreffes. The country was exhaufted, the continental currency expiring. The army for want of fubfiftence, kept inactive, and brooding over its calamities. While thefe difafters were openly menacing the ruin of the American caufe, treachery was filently undermining it. A diftinguifhed officer engaged for a ftipulated fum of money, to betray into the hands of the Britifh an important poft committed to his care. General Arnold who committed this foul crime was a native of Connecticut. That State, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotifm, was the birth place of a man to whom none of the other States have produced an equal. He had been among the

the firſt to take up arms againſt Great Britain, and to widen the breach between the Parent State and the Colonies. His diſtinguiſhed military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could beſtow. Poets and painters had marked him as a ſuitable ſubject for the diſplay of their reſpective abilities. He poſſeſſed an elevated ſeat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of a ſubſtantial fame, for the purchaſe of which the wealth of worlds would have been inſufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his crimes. Though in his accounts againſt the States there was much room to ſuſpect fraud and impoſition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great meaſure ſerved as a cloak to cover the whole. He who had been prodigal of life in his country's cauſe, was indulged in extraordinary demands for his ſervices. The generoſity of the States did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. A ſumptuous table and expenſive equipage, unſupported by the reſources of private fortune, unguarded by the virtues of œconomy and good management, ſoon increaſed his debts beyond a poſſibility of his diſcharging them. His love of pleaſure produced the love of money, and that extinguiſhed all ſenſibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were various and preſſing, and demanded gratification, though at the expence of fame and country. Contracts were made, ſpeculations entered into, and partnerſhips inſtituted, which could not bear inveſtigation. Oppreſſion, extortion, miſapplication of public money and property, furniſhed him with the farther means of gratifying his favourite paſſions. In theſe circumſtances, a change of ſides afforded the only hope of evading a ſcrutiny, and at the ſame time held out a proſpect of repleniſhing his exhauſted coffers. The diſpoſition of the American forces in the year 1780 afforded an opportunity of accompliſhing this ſo much to the advantage of the Britiſh, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was ſtationed in the ſtrong-holds of the highlands

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on both ſides of the North-River. In this arrangement, Arnold ſolſcited for the command of Weſt-Point. This has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loſs of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North river, and was deemed the moſt proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges riſing one behind another, rendered it incapable of being inveſted by leſs than twenty thouſand men. Though ſome even then entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet Gen. Waſhington in the unſuſpecting ſpirit of a ſoldier, believing it to be impoſſible that honour ſhould be wanting in a breaſt which he knew was the ſeat of valour, cheerfully granted his requeſt, and intruſted him with the important poſt. General Arnold, thus inveſted with command, carried on a negociation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former ſhould make a diſpoſition of his forces, which would enable the latter to ſurpriſe Weſt-Point under ſuch circumſtances, that he would have the garriſon ſo completely in his power, that the troops muſt either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negociation was the ſtrongeſt poſt of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication between the eaſtern and ſouthern States, and was the repoſitory of their moſt valuable ſtores. The loſs of it would have been ſeverely felt.

The agent employed in this negociation on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was Major André, Adjutant-general of the Britiſh army, a young officer of great hopes, and of uncommon merit. Nature had beſtowed on him an elegant taſte for literature and the fine arts, which by induſtrious cultivation he had greatly improved. He poſſeſſed many amiable qualities, and very great accompliſhments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for his buſineſs; but his high ideas of candour, and his abhorrence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practiſing thoſe arts of deception which it required. To favour the neceſſary communications, the Vulture ſloop of war had been previouſly ſtationed in the North river, as near to Arnold's poſts as was practicable, without exciting ſuſpicion. Before this a written correſpondence

pondence between Arnold and André had been for ſome time carried on under the fictitious names of Guſtavus and Anderſon. A boat was ſent at night from the ſhore to fetch Major André. On his return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the poſts of either army. Their buſineſs was not finiſhed till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he muſt be concealed till the next night. For that purpoſe, he was conducted within one of the American poſts, againſt his previous ſtipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refuſed to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being expoſed to the fire of ſome cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her poſition. André's return to New-York by land, was then the only practicable mode of eſcape. To favour this he quitted his uniform which he had hitherto worn under a ſurtout, for a common coat, and was furniſhed with a horſe, and under the name of John Anderſon, with a paſſport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public buſineſs." He advanced alone and undiſturbed a great part of the way. When he thought himſelf almoſt out of danger, he was ſtopt by three of the New-York militia, who were with others ſcouting between the out-poſts of the two armies. Major André inſtead of producing his paſs, aſked the man who ſtopt him "where he belonged to" who anſwered, "to below," meaning New-York. He replied, "ſo do I," and declared himſelf a Britiſh officer, and preſſed that he might not be detained. He ſoon diſcovered his miſtake. His captors proceeded to ſearch him : ſundry papers were found in his poſſeſſion. Theſe were ſecreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand-writing ; they contained exact returns of the ſtate of the forces, ordnance, and defences at Weſt-Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

André offered his captors a purſe of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him paſs, and permanent proviſion and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly diſ-

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dained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a priſoner to Lieutenant-colonel Jameſon, who commanded the ſcouting parties. In teſtimony of the high ſenſe entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Iſaac Van Vert, the captors of André, Congreſs reſolved, "That each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in ſpecie during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a ſilver medal, on one ſide of which ſhould be a ſhield with this inſcription, *Fidelity*; and on the other, the following motto, *Vincit Amor Patriæ*; and that the commander in chief be requeſted to preſent the ſame, with the thanks of Congreſs, for their fidelity and the eminent ſervice they had rendered their country." André, when delivered to Jameſon, continued to call himſelf by the name of Anderſon, and aſked leave to ſend a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderſon's detention. This was inconſiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture ſloop of war. Lieut. Col. Jameſon forwarded to Gen. Waſhington all the papers found on André, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the expreſs, by taking a different route from the General, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with Count de Rochambeau, miſſed him. This cauſed ſuch a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his eſcape. The ſame packet which detailed the particulars of André's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to ſhew that he did not come under the deſcription of a ſpy. The letter was expreſſed in terms of dignity without inſolence, and of apology without meanneſs. He ſtated therein, that he held a correſpondence with a perſon under the orders of his General. That his intention went no farther than meeting that perſon on neutral ground, for the purpoſe of intelligence, and that, againſt his ſtipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American poſts, and had to concert his eſcape from them; being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in diſguiſe.

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His principal requeſt was, "that whatever his fate might be, a decency of treatment might be obſerved, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing that was diſhonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impoſtor."

General Waſhington referred the whole caſe of Major André to the examination and deciſion of a board, conſiſting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, he voluntarily confeſſed every thing that related to himſelf, and particularly that he did not come aſhore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a ſingle witneſs, but founded their report on his own confeſſion. In this they ſtated the following facts: "That Major André came on ſhore on the night of the 21ſt of September, in a private and ſecret manner, and that he changed his dreſs within the American lines, and under a feigned name and diſguiſed habit, paſſed their works, and was taken in a diſguiſed habit when on his way to New-York, and when taken, ſeveral papers were found in his poſſeſſion, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From theſe facts they farther reported it as their opinion, "That Major André ought to be conſidered as a ſpy, and that agreeably to the laws and uſages of nations, he ought to ſuffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant-general Robertſon, and the late American General Arnold, wrote preſſing letters to General Waſhington, to prevent the deciſion of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by Major André' was done by his particular requeſt, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right to tranſact all theſe matters for which, though wrong, Major André ought not to ſuffer." An interview alſo took place between General Robertſon, on the part of the Britiſh, and General Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could ſuggeſt for averting the propoſed execution; Greene made a propoſition for delivering up André for Arnold, but found

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this could not be acceded to by the Britiſh, without offending againſt every principle of policy. Robertſon urged, " that André went on ſhore under the ſanction of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his ſubſequent actions, which were ſaid to be compulſory." To this it was replied, that " he was employed in the execution of meaſures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and ſuch as they were never meant to authoriſe or countenance, and that Major André in the courſe of his examination had candidly confeſſed, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe that he came on ſhore under the ſanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertſon differed ſo widely both in their ſtatement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter propoſed to the former, that the opinions of diſintereſted gentlemen might be taken on the ſubject, and propoſed Kniphauſen and Rochambeau. Robertſon alſo urged that André poſſeſſed a great ſhare of Sir Henry Clinton's eſteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged if he ſhould be ſpared. He offered that in caſe André was permitted to return with him to New-York, any perſon whatever that might be named, ſhould be ſet at liberty. All theſe arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertſon preſented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate André, by acknowledging himſelf the author of every part of his conduct, " and particularly inſiſted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had ſent for that purpoſe." He declared, that if André ſuffered, he ſhould think himſelf bound in honour to retaliate. He alſo obſerved, " that forty of the principal inhabitants of South-Carolina had juſtly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been ſpared only through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if Major André ſuffered; an event which would probably open a ſcene of bloodſhed, at which humanity muſt revolt." He entreated Waſhington by his own honour, and for that of humanity, not to ſuffer an unjuſt ſentence to touch the life of André, but if that warning ſhould be diſregarded, and André ſuffer, he called Hea-

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ven and earth to witnefs, that he alone would be juftly anfwerable for the torrents of blood that might be fpilt in confequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to fave André, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and found policy required that the forfeiture fhould be exacted.

André, though fuperior to the terrors of death, wifhed to die like a foldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to General Wafhington, fraught with fentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the ufages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this requeft; but his delicacy was faved from the pain of receiving a negative anfwer. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way, over which he paffed, was crowded on each fide by anxious fpectators. Their fenfibility was ftrongly impreffed by beholding a well-dreffed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging perfon, mein and afpect, devoted to immediate execution. Major André walked with firmnefs, compofure, and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon feeing the preparations at the fatal fpot, he afked with fome degree of concern, "Muft I die in this manner?"—He was told it was unavoidable.—He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but foon fubjoined, "It will be but a momentary pang." He afcended the cart with a pleafing countenance, and with a degree of compofure which excited the admiration and melted the hearts of all the fpectators. He was afked when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to fay; he anfwered nothing but to requeft "That you will witnefs to the world that I die like a brave man." The fucceeding moments clofed the affecting fcene.

This execution was the fubject of fevere cenfures. Barbarity, cruelty, and murder, were plentifully charged on the Americans, but the impartial of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the ufages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of felf-

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preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war in favour of so distinguished an officer, but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps André's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots, fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said that it was more consonant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill-timed lenity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public safety imposed a necessity for inflicting the rigours of martial law, yet the rare worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy case the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partisans of royal government, but among the firmest American republicans, the friendly tear of sympathy freely flowed for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned, others justified, but all regretten the fatal sentence which put a period to his valuable life.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a Brigadier-general, in the service of the King of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West-Point made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself that by the allure-

allurements of pay and promotion, he ſhould be able to raiſe a numerous force from among the diſtreſſed American ſoldiery. He, therefore took methods for accompliſhing this purpoſe, by obviating their ſcruples, and working on their paſſions. His firſt public meaſure was iſſuing an addreſs, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, five days after André's execution. In this he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf for deſerting their cauſe. He ſaid, "That when he firſt engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redreſs of grievances was his only aim and object. He however acquieſced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reaſons that then were offered to juſtify that meaſure, no longer could exiſt, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wiſhed-for redreſs. From the refuſal of theſe propoſals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the juſtice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time he had become a profeſſed loyaliſt." He acknowledged that "in theſe principles he had only retained his arms and command for an opportunity to ſurrender them to Great Britain." This addreſs was ſoon followed by another, inſcribed to the officers and ſoldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal ſervice. He informed them, that he was authoriſed to raiſe a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the ſame footing with the other troops in the Britiſh ſervice. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, beſides payments for their horſes, arms, and accoutrements. Rank in the Britiſh army was alſo held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military ſervice. Theſe offers were propoſed to unpaid ſoldiers, who were ſuffering from the want of both food and cloathing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to ſupport themſelves from their own reſources, while they were

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ſpending the prime of their days, and riſquing their lives in the unproductive ſervice of Congreſs. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its loweſt ebb of depreciation, and the wants and diſtreſſes of the American army were at their higheſt pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a ſingle ſentinel or officer. Whether the circumſtances of Arnold's caſe added new ſhades to the crime of deſertion, or whether their providential eſcape from the deep laid ſcheme againſt Weſt-Point, gave a higher tone to the firmneſs of the American ſoldiery, cannot be unfolded: but either from theſe or ſome other cauſes, deſertion wholly ceaſed at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character, but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced but one. In civil conteſts, for officers to change ſides has not been unuſual ; but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred that bore any reſemblance to the conduct of Arnold. His ſingular caſe enforces the policy of conferring high truſts excluſively on men of clean hands, and of withholding all public confidence from thoſe who are ſubjected to the dominion of pleaſure.

A gallant enterpriſe of Major Talmadge about this time ſhall cloſe this chapter. He croſſed the Sound to Long-Iſland with 80 men, made a circuitous march of 20 miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loſs than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieut. colonel, a captain, and 55 privates.

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CHAP XXI.

Foreign Affairs, connected with the American Revolution 1780, 1781.

THAT ſpark which was firſt kindled at Boſton, gradually expanded itſelf till various nations of Europe were involved in its wide-ſpreading flame. France, Spain, and Holland were in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, ſucceſſively drawn in for a ſhare of the general calamity.

Theſe events had ſo direct an influence on the American war, that a ſhort recapitulation of them becomes neceſſary.

Soon after his moſt Catholic Majeſty declared war againſt Great Britain, expeditions were carried on by Don Galvaz, the Spaniſh Governor of Louiſiana, againſt the Britiſh ſettlements in Weſt-Florida, which were eaſily ſubdued. The conqueſt of the whole province was completed in a few months by the reduction of Penſacola. The Spaniards were not ſo ſucceſsful in their attempts againſt Gibraltar and Jamaica. They had blockaded the former of theſe places on the land ſide ever ſince July 1779, and ſoon after inveſted it as cloſely by ſea as the nature of the gut and variety of wind and weather would permit. Towards the cloſe of the year the garriſon was reduced to great ſtraits. Vegetables were with difficulty to be got at any price, but bread, the great eſſential both of life and health, was moſt deficient. Governor Elliot, who commanded in the garriſon, made an experiment to aſcertain what quantity of rice would ſuffice a ſingle perſon, and lived for eight ſucceſſive days, on thirty-two ounces of that nutritious grain.

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The critical ſituation of Gibraltar called for relief. A ſtrong ſquadron was prepared for that purpoſe, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney. He when on his way thither fell in with 15 ſail of merchant men, under a ſlight convoy bound from St. Sebaſtian to Cadiz, and captured the whole. Several of the veſſels were laden with proviſions, which being ſent into Gibral-

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tar proved a ſeaſonable ſupply. In eight days after, he engaged near Cape St. Vincent with a Spaniſh ſquadron of eleven ſail of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. Early in the action the Spaniſh ſhip San Domingo, mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 men, blew up and all on board periſhed. The action continued with great vigour on both ſides for ten hours. The Spaniſh Admiral's ſhip the Phœnix of 80 guns, with three of 70, were carried into a Britiſh port. The San Julian of 70 guns was taken, and a lieutenant with 70 Britiſh ſeamen was put on board, but as ſhe ran on ſhore, the victors became priſoners. Another ſhip of the ſame force was alſo taken, but afterwards totally loſt. Four eſcaped, but two of them were greatly damaged. The Spaniſh Admiral did not ſtrike till his ſhip was reduced to a mere wreck. Captain Macbride of the Bienfaiſant, to whom he ſtruck, diſdaining to convey infection even to an enemy, informed him that a malignant ſmall-pox prevailed on board the Bienſaiſant; and offered to permit the Spaniſh priſoners to ſtay on board the Phœnix, rather than by a removal to expoſe them to the ſmall-pox, truſting to the Admiral's honour, that no advantage would be taken of the circumſtance. The propoſal was cheerfully embraced, and the conditions honourably obſerved. The conſequence of this important victory was the immediate and complete relief of Gibraltar: this being accompliſhed, Rodney proceeded to the Weſt-Indies. The Spaniards nevertheleſs perſevered with ſteadineſs in their original deſign of reducing Gibraltar: they ſeemed to be entirely abſorbed in that object. The garriſon, after ſome time, began again to ſuffer the inconveniences which flow from deficient and unwholeſome food: but in April 1781, complete relief was obtained through the intervention of a Britiſh fleet commanded by Admiral Darby.

The Court of Spain, mortified at this repeated diſappointment, determined to make greater exertions. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever: having on an experiment of 20 months found the inefficacy of a blockade, they reſolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the

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heavieſt metal, and with mortars of the largeſt dimenſions. Theſe diſgorged torrents of fire on a narrow ſpot. It ſeemed as if not only the works, but the rock itſelf muſt have been overwhelmed. All diſtinction of parts was loſt in flame and ſmoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night, almoſt inceſſantly for three weeks, in every 24 hours of which 100,000lbs. of gunpowder were conſumed, and between 4 and 5000 ſhot and ſhells went through the town. It then ſlackened, but was not intermitted during one whole day for upwards of a twelvemonth. The fatigues of the garriſon were extreme, but the loſs of men was leſs than might have been expected. For the firſt ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was only about 300. The damage done to the works was trifling. The houſes in the town, about 500 in number, were moſtly deſtroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houſes, or torn to pieces by the ſhells, fled to the remote parts of the rocks, but deſtruction followed them to places which had always been deemed ſecure. No ſcene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children claſped in each other's arms, were ſo completely torn to pieces, that it ſeemed more like an annihilation, than a diſperſion of their ſhattered fragments. Ladies of the greateſt ſenſibility and moſt delicate conſtitutions deemed themſelves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repoſe in the caſemates amidſt the noiſe of a crowded ſoldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the firſt onſet Gen. Elliot retorted on the beſiegers a ſhower of fire, but foreſeeing the difficulty of prócuring ſupplies he ſoon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adverſaries. By the latter end of November, the beſiegers had brought their works to that ſtate of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The beſt engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with ſanguine expectations of ſpeedy ſucceſs. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in ſuſpenſe concerning

cerning the fate of the garrifon, and when from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a fally was projected and executed, which in about two hours deftroyed thofe works which had required fo much time, fkill, and labour to accomplifh.

A body of 2000 chofen men, under the command of Brigadier-general Rofs, marched out about 2 o'clock in the morning, and at the fame inftant made a general attack on the whole exterior front of the lines of the befiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every fide, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillery men fpread their fire with fuch rapidity, that in a little time every thing combuftible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were fpiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages deftroyed. The magazines blew up one after another. The lofs of the detachment, which accomplifhed all this deftruction, was inconfiderable.

This unexpected event difconcerted the befiegers; but they foon recovered from their alarm, and with a perfeverance almoft peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the fiege. Their fubfequent exertions and re-iterated defeats, fhall be related in the order of time in which they took place.

While the Spaniards were urging the fiege of Gibraltar, a fcheme which had been previoufly concerted with the French was in a train of execution. This confifted of two parts: the object of the firft, concerted between the French and Spaniards, was no lefs than the conqueft of Jamaica. The object of the fecond, in which the French and the Americans were parties, was the reduction of New-York. In conformity to this plan, the monarchs of France and Spain, early in the year 1780, affembled a force in the Weft-Indies fuperior to that of the Britifh. Their combined fleets amounted to thirty-fix fail of the line, and their land forces were in a correfpondent proportion. By acting in concert, they hoped to make rapid conquefts in the Weft-Indies.

Fortunately for the Britifh intereft, this great hoftile force carried within itfelf the caufe of its own overthrow.

The Spanish troops from being too much crowded on board their transports, were seized with a mortal and contagious distemper. This spread through the French fleet and land forces as well as their own. With the hopes of arresting its progress, the Spaniards were landed in the French islands. By these disastrous events the spirit of enterprise was damped: the combined fleets, having neither effected nor attempted any thing of consequence, desisted from the prosecution of the objects of the campaign. The failure of the first part of the plan occasioned the failure of the second. Count de Guichen, the commander of the French fleet, who was to have followed M. de Ternay, and to have co-operated with General Washington, instead of coming to the American continent, sailed with a large convoy collected from the French islands directly to France.

The abortive plans of the French and Spaniards operated directly against the interest of the United States; but this was in a short time counterbalanced by the increased embarrassments occasioned to Great Britain, by the armed neutrality of the northern powers, and by a rupture with Holland.

The naval superiority of Great Britain had long been the subject of regret and envy. As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of European sovereigns to avail themselves of the present favourable moment to effect an humiliation of her maritime grandeur. That the flag of all nations must strike to British ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. The activity and number of British privateers had rendered them objects of terror, not only to the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the many vessels belonging to other powers that were employed in trading with them. Various litigations had taken place between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which

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were about to be carried to their enemies. Having been in the habit of commanding on the sea, they considered power and right to be synonimous terms. As other nations, from a dread of provoking their vengeance, had submitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves invested with authority to controul the commerce of independent nations, when it interfered with their views. This haughtiness worked its own overthrow. The Empress of Russia took the lead in establishing a system of maritime laws, which subverted the claims of Great Britain. Her trading vessels had long been harrassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce inconsistent with neutrality. The present crisis favoured the re-establishment of the laws of nature in place of the usurpations of Great Britain.

A declaration was published by the Empress of Russia, addressed to the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. In this it was observed, "That her Imperial Majesty had given such convincing proofs of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general, that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct would have entitled her subjects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had however proved the contrary: her subjects had been molested in their navigation by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers." Her Majesty therefore declared, "That she found it necessary to remove these vexations which had been offered to the commerce of Russia, but before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable to expose to the world, and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had adopted for her conduct, which were as follows:

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers. That all effects belonging to the belligerent powers should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged, and with a priviso that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These were limited

limited by an explanation, ſo as to "comprehend only warlike ſtores and ammunition," and her Imperial Majeſty declared, that "ſhe was firmly reſolved to maintain theſe principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe had given orders to fit out a conſiderable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia invited them to make a common cauſe with her, ſo far as ſuch an union might ſerve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communications and invitations were alſo made to the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Liſbon. A civil anſwer was received from the Court of Great Britain, and a very cordial one from the Court of France. On this occaſion it was ſaid by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, "That what her Imperial Majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing more than the rules preſcribed to the French navy." The Kings of Sweden and Denmark, alſo formally acceded to the principles and meaſures propoſed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia. The States General did the ſame. The Queen of Portugal was the only ſovereign who refuſed to concur. The powers engaged in this aſſociation reſolved to ſupport each other againſt any of the belligerent nations, who ſhould violate the principles which had been laid down in the declaration of the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

This combination aſſumed the name of the armed neutrality. By it a reſpectable guarantee was procured to a commerce from which France and Spain procured a plentiful ſupply of articles, eſſentially conducive to a vigorous proſecution of the war. The uſurped authority of Great Britain on the highway of nature received a fatal blow. Her embarraſſments from this ſource were aggravated by the conſideration that they came from a power in whoſe friendſhip ſhe had confided.

About the ſame time the enemies of Great Britain were increaſed by the addition of the States General. Though theſe two powers were bound to each other by the obligations of treaties, the conduct of the latter had long been conſidered, rather as hoſtile than friendly.

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Few Europeans had a greater profpect of advantage from American independence than the Hollanders. The conqueft of the United States would have regained to Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the eftablifhment of their independence promifed to other nations an equal chance of participating therein. As commerce is the foul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the prefent opportunity of extending it would have been a deviation from their eftablifhed maxims of policy. Former treaties framed in diftant periods, when other views were predominant, oppofed but a feeble barrier to the claims of prefent intereft. The paft generation found it to their advantage to feek the friendfhip and protection of Great Britain; but they who were now on the ftage of life, had fimilar inducements to feek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done without thwarting the views of the Court of London, their recollection of former favours was not fufficient to curb their immediate favourite paffion. From the year 1777, Sir Jofeph Yorke, the Britifh Minifter at the Hague, had made fundry reprefentations to their High Mightineffes of the clandeftine commerce carried on between their fubjects and the Americans. He particularly ftated that Mr. Van Graaf, the Governor of St. Euftatius, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had at one time returned the falute of a veffel carrying their flag. Sir Jofeph, therefore, demanded a formal difavowal of this falute, and the difmiffion and immediate recal of Governor Van Graaf. This infolent demand was anfwered with a pufillanimous, temporifing reply. On the 12th of September, 1778, a memorial was prefented to the States General from the merchants and others of Amfterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obftructed by the fhips of his Britannic Majefty. On the 22d of July, 1779, Sir Jofeph Yorke demanded of the States General, the fuccours which were ftipulated in the treaty of 1678: but this was not complied with. Friendly declarations and unfriendly actions followed each other in alternate fucceffion. At length a declaration was publifhed by the King of

of Great Britain, by which it was announced, "That the ſubjects of the United Provinces were henceforth to be conſidered upon the ſame footing with other martial powers, not privileged by treaty." Throughout the whole of this period the Dutch, by means of neutral ports, continued to ſupply the Americans, and the Engliſh, to inſult and intercept their navigation; but open hoſtilities were avoided by both. The former aimed principally at the gains of a lucrative commerce; the latter, to remove all obſtacles which ſtood in the way of their favourite ſcheme of conquering the Americans. The event which occaſioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged ſtate of the American finances, that gentleman had been deputed by Congreſs to ſolicit a loan for their ſervice in the United Netherlands; and alſo to negociate a treaty between them and the United States. On his way thither, he was taken by the Veſtal frigate commanded by Captain Kepple. He had thrown his papers overboard; but great part of them were nevertheleſs recovered without having received much damage. His papers being delivered to the Miniſtry, were carefully examined. Among them was found one purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce between the States of Holland and the United States of America. This had been originally drawn up in conſequence of ſome converſation between William Lee, whom Congreſs had appointed commiſſioner to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin; and John de Neufville, merchant of Amſterdam, as a plan of a treaty deſtined to be concluded hereafter: but it had never been propoſed either by Congreſs or the States of Holland, though it had received the approbation of the Penſionary Van Berkel, and of the city of Amſterdam. As this was not an official paper, and had never been read in Congreſs, the original was given to Mr. Laurens as a paper that might be uſeful to him in his projected negociations. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Laurens' poſſeſſion by accident, and which was ſo nearly ſunk in the ocean, proved the occaſion of a national war. The Court of Great Britain was highly offended at it.

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The paper itſelf, and ſome others relating to the ſame ſubject, were delivered to the Prince of Orange, who laid them before the States of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland.

Sir Joſeph Yorke preſented a memorial to the States General, in which he aſſerted, "That the papers of Mr. Laurens, who ſtiled himſelf Preſident of the pretended Congreſs, had furniſhed the diſcovery of a plot unexampled in all the annals of the republic. That it appeared by theſe papers, that the gentlemen of Amſterdam had been engaged in a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American rebels, from the month of Auguſt, 1778; and that inſtructions and full powers had been given by them for the concluſion of a treaty of indiſputable amity with thoſe rebels, who were the ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the republic was united by the cloſeſt engagements." He, therefore, in the name of his maſter demanded, "A formal diſavowal of this irregular conduct, and a prompt ſatisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary puniſhment of the Penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace and violators of the laws of nations." The States General diſavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amſterdam, and engaged to proſecute the Penſionary according to the laws of the country; but this was not deemed ſatisfactory. Sir Joſeph Yorke was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and ſoon after a manifeſto againſt the Dutch was publiſhed in London. This was followed by an order of council, "That general repriſals be granted againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the States General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of this meaſure, its boldneſs muſt be admired. Great Britain, already at war with the United States of America, the monarchies of France and Spain, deliberately reſolves on a war with Holland, and at a time when ſhe might have avoided open hoſtilities. Her ſpirit was ſtill farther evinced by the conſideration that ſhe was deſerted by her friends, and without a ſingle ally. Great muſt have been her reſources to ſupport ſo extenſive a war againſt ſo many hoſtile ſovereigns, but this very ability, by proving that her overgrown power was dangerous to the

the peace of Europe, furniſhed an apology for their combination againſt her.

A war with Holland being reſolved upon, the ſtorm of Britiſh vengeance firſt burſt on the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatius. This, though intrinſecally of little value, had long been the ſeat of an extenſive commerce. It was the grand free port of the Weſt-Indies, and as ſuch was a general market and magazine to all nations. In conſequence of its neutrality and ſituation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richeſt harveſts of commerce, during the ſeaſons of warfare among its neighbours; it was in a particular manner a convenient channel of ſupply to the Americans.

The iſland is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made ſtrong; but as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of tranſient perſons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more ſolicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve thoſe means of ſecurity which the iſland afforded.

Sir George Rodney and Gen. Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, ſurrounded this iſland, and demanded a ſurrender thereof and of its dependencies within an hour. Mr. de Graaf returned for anſwer, "That being utterly incapable of making any defence againſt the force which inveſted the iſland, he muſt of neceſſity ſurrender it, only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the known and uſual clemency of Britiſh commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren ſpot was prodigious. The whole iſland ſeemed to be one vaſt magazine. The ſtorehouſes were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. Theſe alone, on a moderate calculation, were eſtimated to be worth above three millions ſterling. All this property, together with what was found on the iſland, was indiſcriminately ſeized and declared to be confiſcated. This valuable booty was farther increaſed by new arrivals. The conquerors for ſome time kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch, and American veſſels into their hands. Above 150 merchant veſſels, moſt of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five

ſmall armed veſſels, ſhared the ſame fate. The neighbouring iſlands of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Juſt before the arrival of the Britiſh, 30 large ſhips, laden with Weſt-India commodities, had ſailed from Euſtatius for Holland, under the convoy of a ſhip of ſixty guns. Admiral Rodney diſpatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in purſuit of this fleet: the whole of it was overtaken and captured.

The Dutch Weſt-India company, many of the citizens of Amſterdam, and ſeveral Americans, were great ſufferers by the capture of this iſland, and the confiſcation of all property found therein, which immediately followed, but the Britiſh merchants were much more ſo. Theſe confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the iſland, and in acts of Parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of Weſt-India produce as well as European goods. They ſtated their hard caſe to Admiral Rodney and Gen. Vaughan, and contended that their connection with the captured iſland was under the ſanction of acts of Parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was anſwered, "That the iſland was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it ſhould be treated."

The ſeverity with which the victors proceeded drew on them pointed cenſures, not only from the immediate ſufferers, but from all Europe. It muſt be ſuppoſed that they were filled with reſentment for the ſupplies which the Americans received through this channel, but there is alſo reaſon to ſuſpect, that the love of gain was cloaked under the ſpecious veil of national policy.

The horrors of an univerſal havoc of property were realiſed. The merchants and traders were ordered to give up their books of correſpondence, their letters, and alſo inventories of all their effects, incluſive of an exact account of all money and plate in their poſſeſſion. The Jews were deſignated as objects of particular reſentment: they were ordered to give up the keys of their ſtores, to leave their wealth and merchandize behind them, and to depart

depart the iſland without knowing the place of their deſtination. From a natural wiſh to be furniſhed with the means of ſupplying their wants, in the place of their future reſidence, they ſecreted in their wearing apparel, gold, ſilver, and other articles of great value, and ſmall bulk. The policy of theſe unfortunate Hebrews did not avail them. The avarice of the conquerors effectually counteracted their ingenuity. They were ſtripped, ſearched, and deſpoiled, of their money and jewels. In this ſtate of wretchedneſs, many of the inhabitants were tranſported as outlaws, and landed on St. Chriſtopher's. The aſſembly of that iſland with great humanity provided for them ſuch articles as their ſituation required. The Jews were ſoon followed by the Americans, ſome of theſe though they had been baniſhed from the United States, on account of their having taken part with Great Britain, were baniſhed a ſecond time by the conquering troops of the ſovereign, in whoſe ſervice they had previouſly ſuffered. The French merchants and traders were next ordered off the iſland, and laſtly, the native Dutch were obliged to ſubmit to the ſame ſentence. Many opulent perſons, in conſequence of theſe proceedings, were inſtantly reduced to extreme indigence.

In the mean time public ſales were advertiſed, and perſons of all nations invited to become purchaſers. The iſland of St. Euſtatius became a ſcene of conſtant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immenſe quantities expoſed for ſale, reduced the price of many articles far below their original coſt. Many of the commodities ſold on this occaſion became, in the hands of their new purchaſers, as effectual ſupplies to the enemies of Great Britain, as they could have been in caſe the iſland had not been captured. The ſpirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Euſtatius to ſacrifice the intereſts of Great Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the ſame. The friends of humanity, who wiſh that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national juſtice, muſt be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of cauſes which, as hereafter ſhall be ex-

plained,

plained, brought on the great event in the Chefapeak, which gave peace to contending nations. While Admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered, in the fales of confifcated property at St. Euftatius, and efpecially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment fent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were filently executing a well-digefted fcheme, which affured them a naval fuperiority on the American coaft, to the total ruin of the Britifh intereft in the United States.

CHAP. XXII.

The revolt of the Pennfylvania line; of part of the Jerfey troops; diftreffes of the American army; Arnold's invafion of Virginia.

THOUGH General Arnold's addrefs to his countrymen produced no effect, in detaching the foldiery of America from the unproductive fervice of Congrefs, their fteadinefs could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumftances. They ftill remained without pay, and without fuch cloathing as the feafon required. They could not be induced to enter the Britifh fervice, but their complicated diftreffes at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event which had been long expected, made its firft threatening appearance in the Pennfylvania line. The common foldiers enlifted in that State were for the moft part natives of Ireland, but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in difcipline, courage, or attachment to the caufe of independence. They had been but a few months before, the moft active inftruments in quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occafions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the terms of their enliftment furnifhed a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlifted for three years or during the war, the three years were expired, and the men infifted that the choice of ftaying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the State.

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The mutiny was excited by the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, in the night of the 1ſt of January 1781, and ſoon became ſo univerſal in the line of that State as to defy all oppoſition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a ſignal for the purpoſe, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redreſs of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne preſented his piſtols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breaſt, and ſaid, "We love and reſpect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man." "We are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you ſhould ſee us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amuſed, we are determined on obtaining what is our juſt due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of 1300, moved off in a body from Morriſtown, and proceeded in good order with their arms and ſix field pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a Serjeant-major, who had formerly deſerted from the Britiſh army, to be their commander. Gen. Wayne forwarded proviſions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their ſubſiſtence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate neceſſities made unavoidable. This was readily ſubmitted to by the inhabitants, who had long been uſed to exactions of the ſame kind, levied for ſimilar purpoſes by their lawful rulers. They profeſſed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was juſtly due to them, nor were their actions inconſiſtent with that profeſſion.

Congreſs ſent a committee of their body, conſiſting of General Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherſpoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolters were reſolute in refuſing any terms, of which a redreſs of their grievances were not the foundation. Every thing aſked of their country, they might at any time after the 6th of January, have obtained from the Britiſh, by paſſing over into New-York. This they

refuſed

refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government—to pardon all their past offences---to have the pay due to them from Congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South-River, and it was promised, that a detachment of the British troops should be in readiness for their protection as soon as desired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New-York to Staten-Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New-Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised to find that the faithful, though revolting soldiers, disdained his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clinton were seized and delivered to Gen. Wayne. President Reed and General Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania, to accomodate matters with the revolters. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of 100 guineas to the mutineers, as a reward of their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled."

By these healing measures the revolt was completely quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers being founded in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of service was expired obtained their discharges, and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this occasion, the commander in chief stated in a circular letter to the four eastern States, the well-founded complaints

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of his army; and the impoſſibility of keeping them together, under the preſſure of ſuch a variety of ſufferings. General Knox was requeſted to be the bearer of theſe diſpatches; and to urge the States to an immediate exertion for the relief of the ſoldiers. He viſited Maſſachuſetts, New-Hampſhire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Iſland; and with great earneſtneſs and equal ſucceſs, deſcribed the wants of the army. Maſſachuſetts gave 24 ſilver dollars to each man of her line; and alſo furniſhed them with ſome cloathing. Other States about the ſame time made ſimilar advances.

The ſpirit of mutiny proved contagious. About 160 of the Jerſey troops followed the example of the Pennſylvania line; but they did not conduct themſelves with equal ſpirit, nor with equal prudence. They committed ſundry acts of outrage againſt particular officers, while they affected to be ſubmiſſive to others. Major-general Howe, with a conſiderable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and ſervility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepeſt wound to the ſervice, he determined to proceed againſt them with deciſion. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight; and by the dawning of the next day, had his men in four different poſitions, to prevent the revolters from making their eſcape. Every avenue being ſecured, Col. Barber, of the Jerſey line, was ſent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms; and to march to a particular ſpot of ground. Some heſitation appearing among them, Col. Sproat was directed to advance, and only five minutes were given to the mutineers to comply with the orders which had been ſent them. This had its effect, and they to a man marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jerſey officers gave a liſt of the leaders of the revolt, upon which General Howe deſired them to ſelect three of the greateſt offenders. A field court martial was preſently held upon theſe three, and they were unanimouſly ſentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the ſpot, and the executioners were ſelected from

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among the moſt active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoons, and made public conceſſions to their officers, and promiſed by future good conduct to atone for paſt offences.

Theſe mutinies alarmed the States, but did not produce permanent relief to the army. Their wants with reſpect to proviſions were only partially ſupplied, and by expedients from one ſhort time to another. The moſt uſual was ordering an officer to ſeize on proviſions whereever found. This differed from robbing only in its being done by authority for the public ſervice, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At firſt ſome reliance was placed on theſe certificates as vouchers to ſupport a future demand on the United States; but they ſoon became ſo common as to be of little value. Recourſe was ſo frequently had to coercion, both legiſlative and military, that the people not only loſt confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority, for forcing their property from them. That an army ſhould be kept together under ſuch circumſtances, ſo far exceeds credibility, as to make it neceſſary to produce ſome evidence of the fact. The American General Clinton, in a letter to General Waſhington, dated at Albany, April 16th, 1781, wrote as follows: "There is not now (independent of Fort Schuyler) three days proviſion in the whole department for the troops in caſe of an alarm, nor any proſpect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies, I cannot receive, becauſe I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families I have been obliged to deprive of their ſcanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quartermaſter's department is totally uſeleſs, the public armoury has been ſhut up for near three weeks, and a total ſuſpenſion of every military operation has enſued." Soon after this General Waſhington was obliged to apply 9000 dollars, ſent by the State of Maſſachuſetts for the payment of her troops, to the uſe of the quartermaſter's department, to enable him to tranſport proviſions from the adjacent States. Before he conſented

ſented to adopt this expedient, he had conſumed every ounce of proviſion which had been kept up as a reſerve in the garriſon of Weſt-Point; and had ſtrained impreſs by military force, to ſo great an extent, that there was reaſon to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by ſuch frequent calls, would proceed to dangerous inſurrections. Fort Schuyler, Weſt-Point, and the poſts up the North-River, were on the point of being abandoned by their ſtarving garriſon. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or ſpecie, and in the neighbourhood of the American army there was a real want of neceſſary proviſions. The deficiency of the former occaſioned many inconveniencies, and an unequal diſtribution of the burdens of the war; but the inſufficiency of the latter had well nigh diſſolved the army, and laid the country in every direction open to Britiſh excurſions.

These events were not unforeſeen by the rulers of America. From the progreſſive depreciation of their bills of credit, it had for ſome time paſt occurred, that the period could not be far diſtant, when they would ceaſe to circulate. This criſis which had been ardently wiſhed for by the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of American independence, took place in 1781; but without realiſing the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New reſources were providentially opened, and the war was carried on with the ſame vigour as before. A great deal of gold and ſilver was about this time introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spaniſh Weſt-India iſlands, and by means of the French army in Rhode-Iſland. Pathetic repreſentations were made to the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by General Waſhington, Dr. Franklin, and particularly by Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, who was ſent to the court of Verſailles as a ſpecial miniſter on this occaſion. The King of France gave the United States a ſubſidy of ſix millions of livres, and became their ſecurity for ten millions more, borrowed for their uſe in the United Netherlands. A regular ſyſtem of finance was alſo about this time adopted. All matters relative to

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the treasury, the supplies of the army, and the accounts, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with justice and œconomy. The issuing of paper money by the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver, together with these judicious domestic regulations, aided by the bank, which had been erected the preceding year in Philadelphia, extricated Congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, cloath, and move their army.

About the same time the old continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency. Like an aged man expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or a groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. By the scale of depreciation the war was carried on five years, for a little more than a million of pounds sterling, and 200 millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. In other countries, such measures would probably have produced popular insurrections, but in the United States they were submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was violated, but in the opinion of most men public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers would in many cases have increased them, by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others, who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resistance of America to Great Britain was grounded in the hearts of the people, than these events. To receive paper bills of credit issued without any funds, and to give property in exchange for them, as equal to gold or silver, demonstrated the zeal and enthusiasm with which the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction of the

the ſame after a currency of five years, without any adequate proviſion made for their future redemption, was more than would have been borne by any people, who conceived that their rulers had ſeparate intereſts or views for themſelves. The demiſe of one king, and the coronation of a lawful ſucceſſor, have often excited greater commotions in royal governments, than took place in the United States on the ſudden extinction of their whole current money. The people ſaw the neceſſity which compelled their rulers to act in the manner they had done, and being well convinced that the good of the country was their object, quietly ſubmitted to meaſures, which, under other circumſtances, would ſcarcely have been expiated by the lives and fortunes of their authors.

While the Americans were ſuffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adverſaries were carrying on the moſt extenſive plan of operation, which had ever been attempted ſince the war. It had often been objected to the Britiſh commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner moſt likely to effect the ſubjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New-York, which they ſaid, if properly applied, would have been ſufficient to make ſucceſsful impreſſions at one and the ſame time on ſeveral of the States. The Britiſh ſeem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of Britiſh head-quarters at New-York, but in Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter State, from its peculiar ſituation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly expoſed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is maſter of the Cheſapeak. Theſe circumſtances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that State the object of particular attention. To favour

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Lord Cornwallis' deſigns in the ſouthern States, Major Gen. Leſlie, with about 2000 men, had been detached from New-York to the Cheſapeak, in the latter end of 1780; but ſubſequent events induced his Lordſhip to order him from Virginia to Charleſton, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of General Leſlie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New-York. This was commanded by Gen. Arnold, now a Brigadier in the royal army. His force conſiſted of about 1600 men, and was ſupported by ſuch a number of armed veſſels as enabled him to commit extenſive ravages, on the unprotected coaſts of that well-watered country. The invaders landed about 15 miles below Richmond, and in two days marched into the town, where they deſtroyed large quantities of tobacco, ſalt, rum, ſail-cloth, and other merchandize. Succeſſive excurſions were made to ſeveral other places, in which the royal army committed ſimilar devaſtations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portſmouth, and began to fortify it. The loſs they ſuſtained from the feeble oppoſition of the diſperſed inhabitants was inconſiderable. The havock made by General Arnold, and the apprehenſion of a deſign to fix a permanent poſt in Virginia, induced General Waſhington to detach the Marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infantry, to that State, and alſo to urge the French in Rhode-Iſland to co-operate with him in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly cloſed with the propoſal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their paſſion for military fame, had yet preſented itſelf. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering eſſential ſervice to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with 1500 additional men on board, ſailed from Rhode-Iſland for Virginia. D'Eſtouches, who ſince the death of de Ternay on the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previous to the ſailing of his whole naval force, diſpatched the Eveillé, a ſixty-

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four gun ſhip, and two frigates, with orders to deſtroy the Britiſh ſhips and frigates in the Cheſapeak. Theſe took or deſtroyed ten veſſels, and captured the Romulus of 44 guns. Arbuthnot with a Britiſh fleet failed from Gardiner's-Bay, in purſuit of D'Eſtouches. The former overtook and engaged the latter off the capes of Virginia. The Britiſh had the advantage of more guns than the French, but the latter were much more ſtrongly manned than the former. The conteſt between the fleets thus nearly balanced, ended without the loſs of a ſhip on either ſide; but the Britiſh obtained the fruits of victory ſo far as to fruſtrate the whole ſcheme of their adverſaries. The fleet of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty returned to Rhode-Iſland without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold ſaved from imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exaſperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport, a convoy arrived in the Cheſapeak from New-York, with Major-general Philips, and about 2000 men. This diſtinguiſhed officer, who having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Philips and Arnold ſoon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They ſucceſſively defeated thoſe bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excurſions. On their embarkation from Portſmouth, a detachment viſited York-Town, but the main body proceeded to Williamſburgh. On the 22d of April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river 10 or 12 miles, and deſtroyed much property. On the 24th they landed at City-Point, and ſoon after they marched for Peterſburgh. About one mile from the town they were oppoſed by a ſmall force commanded by Baron Steuben; but this after making a gallant reſiſtance was compelled to retreat.

Mar. 25. 10. 16. Mar. 25. April 22. 24.

At Peterſburgh they deſtroyed 4000 hogſheads of tobacco, a ſhip, and a number of ſmall veſſels. Within three days one party marched to Cheſterfield court-houſe, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of flour. On the ſame day, another party under the com-

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mand of General Arnold marched to Oſborne's. About four miles above this place, a ſmall marine force was drawn up to oppoſe him. General Arnold ſent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet, but he declared that he would defend it to the laſt extremity. Upon this refuſal, Arnold advanced with ſome artillery, and fired upon him with deciſive effect from the banks of the river. Two ſhips and ten ſmall veſſels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Four ſhips, five brigantines, and a number of ſmall veſſels, were burnt or ſunk. The quantity of tobacco taken or deſtroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogſheads, and the whole was effected without the loſs of a ſingle man on the ſide of the Britiſh. The royal forces then marched up the fork till they arrived at Mancheſter. There they deſtroyed 1200 hogſheads of tobacco; and returning thence, they made great havock at Warmick. They deſtroyed the ſhips on the ſtocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope-walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flour, with a number of warehouſes, and of tan-houſes, all filled with their reſpective commodities, were alſo conſumed in one general conflagration. On the 9th of May they returned to Peterſburgh, having, in the courſe of the preceding three weeks, deſtroyed property to an immenſe amount. With this expedition, Major-general Philips terminated a life, which in all his previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on different occaſions of a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of Prince Ferdinand, under whom he had ſerved in Germany. As an officer he was univerſally admired. Though much of the devaſtations committed by the troops under his command, may be vindicated on the principles of thoſe who hold that the rights and laws of war are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame have reaſon to regret that he did not die three weeks ſooner.

CHAP

CHAP. XXIII.

Campaign of 1781. Operations in the two Carolinas and Georgia.

THE ſucceſſes which, with a few checks, followed the Britiſh arms ſince they had reduced Savannah and Charleſton, encouraged them to purſue their object by advancing from ſouth to north. A vigorous invaſion of North-Carolina was therefore projected, for the buſineſs of the winter which followed General Gates' defeat. The Americans were ſenſible of the neceſſity of re-inforcing and ſupporting their ſouthern army, but were deſtitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened, nor was there time to march over the intervening diſtance of ſeven hundred miles; but if men could have been procured, and time allowed for marching them to South-Carolina, money for defraying the unavoidable expences of their tranſportation, could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or in the firſt months 1781. Though Congreſs was unable to forward either men or money, for the relief of the ſouthern States, they did what was equivalent; they ſent them a general, whoſe head was a council, and whoſe military talents were equal to a re-inforcement. The nomination of an officer for this important truſt was left to General Waſhington. He mentioned Gen. Greene, adding for reaſon, "that he was an officer in whoſe abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the moſt entire confidence."

The army, after its defeat and diſperſion on the 16th of Auguſt, 1780, rendezvouſed at Hillſborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlotte-Town. At this place General Gates transferred the command to General Greene. The manly reſignation of the one, was equalled by the delicate diſintereſtedneſs of the other. Expreſſions of civility, and acts of friendſhip and attention were reciprocally exchanged. Greene, upon all occaſions, was the vindicator of Gates' reputation. In his letters and converſation, he uniformly maintained that his predeceſſor had failed in no part of his military duty, and

that he had deferved fuccefs, though he could not command it. Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a gallant enterprize of Lieut. Col. Wafhington. Being out on a foraging excurfion, he had penetrated within 13 miles of Camden, to Clermont, the feat of Lieut. Col. Rigley of the Britifh militia. This was fortified by a block-houfe, and encompaffed by an abbatis, and was defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had fubmitted to the Britifh government. Lieut. Col. Wafhington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, fo as to refemble a field piece. The lucky moment was feized, and a peremptory demand of an immediate furrender was made, when the garrifon was impreffed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade in cafe of their refufal. The whole furrendered at difcretion, without a fhot on either fide. This fortunate incident, through the fuperftition to which moft men are more or lefs fubject, was viewed by the army as a prefage of fuccefs under their new commander.

When Gen. Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going home without permiffion, ftaying feveral days or weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce ftrict difcipline, he gave out that he would make an example of the firft deferter of the kind he caught. One fuch being foon taken, was accordingly fhot, at the head of the army, drawn up to be fpectators of the punifhment. This had the defired effect, and put a ftop to the dangerous practice.

The whole fouthern army at this time confifted of about 2000 men, more than half of which were militia. The regulars had been for a long time without pay, and were very deficient in cloathing. All fources of fupply from Charlefton were in poffeffion of the Britifh, and no imported article could be obtained from a diftance lefs than 200 miles. The procuring of provifions for this fmall force was a matter of difficulty. The paper currency was depreciated fo far as to be wholly unequal to the purchafe of even fuch fupplies as the country afforded. Hard money had not a phyfical exiftence in any hands accef-

acceſſible to the Americans. The only reſource left for ſupplying the army was by the arbitrary mode of impreſs. To ſeize on the property of the inhabitants, and at the ſame time to preſerve their kind affections, was a difficult buſineſs, and of delicate execution, but of the utmoſt moment, as it furniſhed the army with proviſions without impairing the diſpoſition of the inhabitants to co-operate with it in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Such was the ſituation of the country, that it was almoſt equally dangerous for the American army to go forward or ſtand ſtill. In the firſt caſe every thing was hazarded; in the laſt, the confidence of the people would be loſt, and with it all proſpect of being ſupported by them. The impatience of the ſuffering exiles and others, led them to urge the adoption of raſh meaſures. The mode of oppoſition they preferred was the leaſt likely to effect their ultimate wiſhes. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with ſwamps, and covered with woods, the inconſiderable force of the American army, the number of the diſaffected, and the want of magazines, weighed with General Greene to prefer a partiſan war. By cloſe application to his new profeſſion, he had acquired a ſcientific knowledge of the principles and maxims for conducting wars in Europe, but conſidered them as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumſtances he uſed them, but oftener deviated from them, and followed his own practical judgement, founded on a comprehenſive view of his real ſituation.

With an inconſiderable army, miſerably provided, General Greene took the field againſt a ſuperior Britiſh regular force, which had marched in triumph 200 miles from the ſea coaſt, and was fluſhed with ſucceſſive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and ſent Gen. Morgan with a reſpectable detachment to the weſtern extremity of South-Carolina, and about the ſame time marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north ſide of the Pedee, oppoſite to Cheraw-Hill.

After the general ſubmiſſion of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the intereſt of America. The reſidence of the Britiſh army, inſtead of increaſing the real friends to royal government, diminiſhed their number, and added new vigour to the oppoſite party. The Britiſh had a poſt in Ninety-ſix for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence, and murder. Applications were daily made for redreſs, yet in that whole period, there was not a ſingle inſtance wherein puniſhment was inflicted, either on the ſoldiery or the Tories. The people ſoon found that there was no ſecurity for their lives, liberties, or property, under the military government of Britiſh officers, careleſs of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon diſtreſs, in which they had more to fear from oppreſſion than reſiſtance; they therefore moſt ardently wiſhed for an American force. Under theſe favourable circumſtances General Greene detached General Morgan to take a poſition in that diſtrict. The appearance of this force, a ſincere attachment to the cauſe of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the Britiſh, induced ſeveral perſons to reſume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, Lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invaſion of North-Carolina. To leave General Morgan in the rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from this ſtation, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about 1100 men, and "puſh him to the utmoſt." He had two field pieces, and a ſuperiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Beſides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under General Morgan were militia. With theſe fair proſpects of ſucceſs, Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him out of South-Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the ſouthern militia, with 190 from

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North-Carolina, were put under the command of Colonel Pickens. Theſe formed the firſt line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the ſecond, with orders to form on the right of the ſecond, when forced to retire. The ſecond line conſiſted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with his cavalry, and about 45 militia men, mounted and equipped with ſwords, were drawn up at ſome diſtance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither ſecured in front, flank, or rear. On the ſide of the Britiſh, the light legion infantry and fuſileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form the line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himſelf. They advanced with a ſhout, and poured in an inceſſant fire of muſquetry. Colonel Pickens directed the men under his command, to reſtrain their fire, till the Britiſh were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmneſs, was not ſufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back. The Britiſh advanced and engaged the ſecond line, which, after an obſtinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this criſis, Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington made a ſucceſsful charge on Captain Ogilvie, who, with about forty dragoons, was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat in confuſion. Lieutenant-colonel Howard almoſt at the ſame moment rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was inſtantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Britiſh, occaſioned by theſe unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horſe which had not been engaged, fled with precipitation. The pieces of artillery were ſeized by the Americans, and the greateſt confuſion took place among the infantry. While they were in this ſtate of diſorder, Lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them to "lay down their arms," and promiſed them good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer

and

and ſurrendered. The firſt battalion of the 71ſt, and two Britiſh light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party which had been left ſome diſtance in the rear to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that eſcaped. The officer of that detachment on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, deſtroyed a great part of the baggage, and retreated to Lord Cornwallis. Upwards of 300 of the Britiſh were killed or wounded, and above 500 priſoners were taken. Eight hundred muſkets, two field pieces, 35 baggage waggons, and 100 dragoon horſes, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only 12 men killed and 60 wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct on this memorable day, was honoured by Congreſs with a gold medal. They alſo preſented medals of ſilver to Lieutenant-colonels Waſhington and Howard, a ſword to Colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the General's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to Baron Glaſsbeck. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton hitherto triumphant in a variety of ſkirmiſhes, on this occaſion loſt his laurels, though he was ſupported by the 7th regiment, one battalion of the 71ſt, and two companies of light infantry; and his repulſe did more eſſential injury to the Britiſh intereſt, than was equivalent to all the preceding advantages he had gained. It was the firſt link in a chain of cauſes which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South-Carolina, on the royal intereſt. That impetuoſity of Tarleton which had acquired him great reputation, when on former occaſions he had ſurpriſed an incautious enemy, or attacked a panic-ſtruck militia, was at this time the occaſion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, and led them on to action, before they were properly formed, and before the reſerve had taken its ground. He was alſo guilty of a great overſight in not bringing up a column of cavalry to ſupport and improve the advantages he had gained when the Americans retreated.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conqueſts northerly, was not inattentive to the ſecurity of South-Carolina. Beſides the force at Charleſton, he left

a confiderable body of troops under the command of Lord Rawdon. Thefe were principally ftationed at Camden, from which centrical fituation they might eafily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to fupprefs infurrections. To facilitate the intended operations againft North-Carolina, Major Craig, with a detachment of about 300 men from Charlefton, and a fmall marine force, took poffeffion of Wilmington. While thefe arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced with the faireft profpects to the friends of Britifh government. The arrival of General Leflie in Charlefton, with his late command in Virginia, gave Earl Cornwallis a decided fuperiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North-Carolina, with a force fufficient to bear down all probable oppofition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South-Carolina in his rear, was confidered as completely fubdued. His Lordfhip had much to hope and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would but prove the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at leaft of the fouthern States. Whilft Lord Cornwallis was indulging thefe pleafing profpects, he received intelligence, no lefs unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greateft confidence, inftead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This furprifed and mortified, but did not difcourage his Lordfhip. He hoped by vigorous exertions foon to obtain reparation for the late difaftrous event, and even to recover what he had loft. With the expectation of retaking the prifoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impreffion made by the iffue of the late action at that place, his Lordfhip inftantly determined on the purfuit of General Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prifoners. The movements of the royal army in confequence of this determination, induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's-Creek, left the Britifh by croffing the upper fources of the Pedee, fhould get between him and the detachment,

which

which was incumbered with the prifoners. In this critical fituation General Greene left the main army, under the command of General Huger, and rode 150 miles through the country, to join the detachment under General Morgan, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divifions of his army, fo as to form a fpeedy junction between them. Immediately after the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan fent on his prifoners under a proper guard, and having made every arrangement in his power for their fecurity, retreated with expedition. Neverthelefs the Britifh gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to crofs the mountains with his detachment and prifoners, that he might more effectually fecure the latter: but Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prifoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guildford court-houfe, to which place he had alfo ordered General Huger to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat the Americans underwent hardfhips almoft incredible. Many of them performed this march without fhoes over frozen ground, which fo gafhed their naked feet, that their blood marked every ftep of their progrefs. They were fometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without fpirituous liquors. Their march led them through a barren country, which fcarcely afforded neceffaries for a few ftraggling inhabitants. In this fevere feafon, alfo with very little cloathing, they were daily reduced to the neceffity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of cloaths, till the heat of their bodies, and occafional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. To all thefe difficulties they fubmitted without the lofs of a fingle centinel by defertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage, and the example was followed by the officers under his command. Every thing which was not neceffary in action, or to the exiftence of the troops, was deftroyed. No waggons were referved except thofe loaded with hofpital ftores, falt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the ufe of the fick. The royal army, encouraged by the example of his Lordfhip,

ſhip, ſubmitted to every hardſhip with cheerfulneſs. They beheld, without murmuring, their moſt valuable baggage deſtroyed, their ſpirituous liquors ſtaved, when they were entering on hard ſervice, and under circumſtances which precluded every proſpect of ſupply.

The Britſh had urged the purſuit with ſo much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the ſame day on which their fleeing adverſaries had croſſed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impaſſable. The Americans, confident of the juſtice of their cauſe, conſidered this event as an interpoſition of Providence in their favour. It is certain, that if the riſing of the river had taken place a few hours ſooner, General Morgan, with his whole detachment, and 500 priſoners, would have ſcarcely had any chance of eſcape. When the flood had ſubſided ſo far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the King's troops received orders to be in readineſs to march at one o'clock in the morning. Feints had been made of paſſing at ſeveral different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near M'Cowans, the north banks of which were defended by a ſmall guard of militia, commanded by General Davidſon. The Britiſh marched through the river upwards of 500 yards wide, and about three feet deep, ſuſtaining a conſtant fire from the militia on the oppoſite bank, without returning it till they had made good their paſſage. The light infantry and grenadier companies, as ſoon as they reached the land, diſperſed the Americans, General Davidſon, the brave leader of the latter, being killed at the firſt onſet. The militia throughout the neighbouring ſettlements were diſpirited, and but few of them could be perſuaded to take or keep the field. A ſmall party which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and diſperſed by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army croſſed over without any farther oppoſition. The paſſage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee and the Britiſh to purſue. The former by expeditious movements croſſed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the ſecond and third days of February, and ſecured their boats on the north

north ſide. Though the Britiſh were cloſe in their rear, yet for the want of boats, and the rapid riſing of the river from the preceding rains, made their croſſing impoſſible. This ſecond hair-breadth eſcape was conſidered by the Americans as a farther evidence that their cauſe was favoured by Heaven. That they in two ſucceſſive inſtances ſhould effect their paſſage, while their purſuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impreſſed the religious people of that ſettlement with ſuch ſentiments of devotion as added freſh vigour to their exertions in behalf of American independence.

The Britiſh having failed in their firſt ſcheme of paſſing the Yadkin, were obliged to croſs at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two diviſions of the American army made a junction at Guildford court-houſe. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were ſo much inferior to the Britiſh, that General Greene could not with any propriety riſque an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimouſly concurred in opinion that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was re-inforced. Lord Cornwallis knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between General Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his ſupplies and re-inforcements, and oblige him to fight under many diſadvantages. With this view, his Lordſhip kept the upper country where only the rivers are fordable—ſuppoſing that his adverſaries, from the want of a ſufficient number of flats, could not make good their paſſage in the deep water below, or in caſe of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could croſs. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene by good management eluded his Lordſhip. The Britiſh urged their purſuit with ſo much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14th compelled to retire upwards of 40 miles. By the moſt indefatigable exertions, Gen. Greene had that day tranſported his army, artillery, and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the purſuit, and ſo narrow the eſcape, that the van of the purſuing Britiſh

juſt arrived as the rear of the Americans had croſſed. The hardſhips and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were to no purpoſe. They conceived it next to impoſſible that General Greene could eſcape without receiving a deciſive blow. They therefore cheerfully ſubmitted to difficulties, of which they who reſide in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After ſurmounting incredible hardſhips, when they fancied themſelves within graſp of their object, they diſcovered that all their hopes were blaſted.

The continental army being driven out of North-Carolina, Lord Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for aſſembling the loyaliſts. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillſborough. On his arrival there, he erected the King's ſtandard, and publiſhed a proclamation, inviting all loyal ſubjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days proviſion, and aſſuring them of his readineſs to concur with them in effectual meaſures for ſuppreſſing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of good order and conſtitutional government. Soon after the King's ſtandard was erected at Hillſborough, ſome hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the Britiſh camp. They ſeemed to be very deſirous of peace, but averſe to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chaſed out of the province, but expreſſed their apprehenſions that they would ſoon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in a cauſe which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithſtanding the indifference or timidity of the loyaliſts near Hillſborough, Lord Cornwallis hoped for ſubſtantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep River. He therefore detached Lieut. Col. Tarleton with 450 men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that diſtrict. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his Lordſhip, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their ſubmiſſion, was apprehenſive that unleſs ſome ſpirited meaſure was immediately taken, the whole country would be loſt to the Americans. He, therefore, con-

cluded.

cluded, at every hazard, to recrofs the Dan. This was done by the light troops, and thefe on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, fome of their light troops, commanded by General Pickens and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, were detached in purfuit of Tarleton, who had been fent to encourage the infurrection of the loyalifts. Three hundred and fifty of thefe Tories commanded by Colonel Pyles, when on their way to join the Britifh, fell in with this light American party, and miftook them for the royal detachment fent for their fupport. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this miftake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out "God fave the King," and making proteftations of their loyalty. Natives of the Britifh Colonies, who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European foldiers. They were confidered by the Whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted fpirit to defend their conftitutional rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with ftrangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themfelves and countrymen. Many of them on this occafion fuffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refrefhing his legion about a mile from this fcene of flaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he re-croffed the Haw and returned to Hillfborough. On his retreat he cut down feveral of the royalifts, as they were advancing to join the Britifh army, miftaking them for the rebel militia of the country. Thefe events, together with the return of the American army, overfet all the fchemes of Lord Cornwallis. The tide of public fentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting fervice in behalf of the royal army was entirely ftopped. The abfence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the fcale. The advocates for royal government being difcouraged by thefe adverfe accidents, and being alfo generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterifed the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were fo difperfed over a large extent of a thinly

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ſettled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no ſuperintending Congreſs to give ſyſtem or concert to their ſchemes. While each little diſtrict purſued ſeparate meaſures, all were obliged to ſubmit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join Lord Cornwallis, ſtruck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which diſpoſed them to be more attentive to perſonal ſafety, than to the ſucceſs of either army.

Though Gen. Greene had re-croſſed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depreſs that of the loyaliſts, and to harraſs the foragers and detachments of the Britiſh, till reinforcements ſhould arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defenſive operations, he lay ſeven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, but took a new poſition every night, and kept it a profound ſecret where the next was to be. By ſuch frequent movements Lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his ſituation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an action for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to aſk bread from the common ſoldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 regulars raiſed for 18 months, joined his army, and gave him a ſuperiority of numbers: he therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long ſought for this, no longer delay took place on either ſide. The American army conſiſted of about 4400 men, of which more than one half were militia. The Britiſh of about 2400, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The former was drawn up in three lines. The front compoſed of North-Carolina militia, the ſecond of Virginia militia, the third and laſt of continental troops commanded by Gen. Huger and Col. Williams. After a briſk cannonade in front, the Britiſh advanced in three columns. The Heſſians on the right, the guards in the

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center, and Lieutenant-colonel Webſter's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adverſaries were at the diſtance of 140 yards, from the miſconduct of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at ſome diſtance "that he would be ſurrounded." The alarm was ſufficient: without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciouſly ſuggeſted, the militia precipitately quitted the field. As one good officer may ſometimes mend the face of affairs, ſo the miſconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are ſimilar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumſtances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia ſtood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had poſted 40 riflemen at equal diſtances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to ſhoot every man who ſhould leave his poſt. That brave officer though wounded through the thigh did not quit the field. The continental troops were laſt engaged, and maintained the conflict with great ſpirit for an hour and a half, At length the diſcipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the ſecond Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a diſtance of about three miles. Greene halted there and drew up till he had collected moſt of the ſtragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles diſtant from Guildford. The Americans loſt 4 pieces of artillery and two ammunition waggons. The victory coſt the Britiſh dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to ſeveral hundreds. The guards left Colonel Stuart and three captains, beſides ſubalterns. Colonel Webſter, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit,

merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole royal army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia were killed or wounded. Among the former was Major Anderſon, of the Maryland line, a moſt valuable officer, of the latter were Generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians ſaved them from much loſs. The American army ſuſtained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives who, inſtead of rejoining the camp, went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis ſuffered ſo much that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The Britiſh had only the name, the Americans, all the good conſequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and Lord Cornwallis kept the field; but notwithſtanding, the Britiſh intereſt in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, Lord Cornwallis iſſued a proclamation ſetting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth, and take an active part in reſtoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would ſurrender themſelves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was iſſued, his Lordſhip left his hoſpital and 75 wounded men, with the numerous loyaliſts in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purpoſes of cooperating with his Lordſhip, had been ſtationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the Britiſh army while they were in the upper country. The diſtance, the narrowneſs of Cape Fear River, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hoſtile ſentiments of the inhabitants on each ſide of it, forbad the attempt. The deſtitute condition of the Britiſh army made it neceſſary to go to theſe ſupplies, which for theſe reaſons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no ſooner received information of this movement of Lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of

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providing for the wounded, of his own, and the Britiſh forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the Quaker perſuaſion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both ſides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers ſupplied the hoſpitals with every comfort in their power.

The Americans continued the purſuit of Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramſay's Mill on Deep River, but for good reaſons deſiſted from following him any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreſhed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched acroſs the country to Peterſburg in Virginia. Before it was known that his Lordſhip had determined on this movement, the bold reſolution of returning to South-Carolina was formed by Gen. Greene. This animated the friends of Congreſs in that quarter. Had the American army followed his Lordſhip, the ſouthern States would have conſidered themſelves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed juſt as the armies marched north or ſouth. Though Lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people conſidered that movement of his Lordſhip in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina, the Whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. Theſe diſtinguiſhed partiſans, while ſurrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not deſpair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the Britiſh convoys of proviſions, infeſted their out-poſts, beat up their quarters, and harraſſed their detachments with ſuch frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the weſtern extremity of the State, Sumter was powerfully ſupported by Colonels Niel, Lacey, Hill, Winn,

Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commiſſions, and had many friends. In the north-eaſtern extremity, Marion received in like manner great aſſiſtance from the active exertions of Cols. Peter Horry and Hugh Horry, Lt. Col. John Baxter, Col. James Poſtell, Major John Poſtell, and Major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themſelves under ſome of the militia officers, and performed many gallant enterpriſes. Theſe ſingly were of too little conſequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they diſplayed the determined ſpirit of the people and embarraſſed the Britiſh. One in which Major John Poſtell commanded may ſerve as an illuſtration of the ſpirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James de Peyſter of the royal army, with 25 grenadiers, having taken poſt in the houſe of the Major's father, the Major poſted his ſmall command of 21 militia men, in ſuch poſitions as commanded its doors, and demanded its ſurrender. This being refuſed, he ſet fire to an outhouſe, and was proceeding to burn that in which they were poſted, and nothing but the immediate ſubmiſſion of the whole party reſtrained him from ſacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While Lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, Gen. Greene determined to re-commence offenſive military operations in the ſouthern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to purſuing his Lordſhip into Virginia. Gen. Sumter, who had warmly urged this meaſure, was about this time authoriſed to raiſe a State brigade to be in ſervice for eighteen months. He had alſo prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With theſe forces an offenſive war was recommenced in South-Carolina, and proſecuted with ſpirit and ſucceſs.

Before Greene ſet out on his march for Carolina, he ſent orders to General Pickens, to prevent ſupplies from going to the Britiſh garriſons at Ninety-ſix and Auguſta, and alſo detached Lieutenant-colonel Lee to advance

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before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to General Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep River to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the State, which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprise to the Americans. While Gen. Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, Fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by Gen. Marion and Lieut. Col. Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the besieged durst not shew themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, consisting 114 men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by Lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. Gen. Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene, with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent Lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped

camped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action Gen. Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

Lord Rawdon received a re-inforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of Col. Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel Gen. Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design, he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post and retired to the southward of Santee. His Lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shewn bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charleston, and the position of the American army in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut off from all communication with Lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts: they, therefore, resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of Congress in the extremities of the State, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army. While Greene lay in the neighbourhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight soldiers who had deserted from his army. This had such effect afterwards that there was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation of Camden the post at Orangeburg, consisting of 70 British militia and 12 regulars, surrendered to General Sumter. On the next day Fort Motte capitulated: this was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house,

which

which was in the center of the Britiſh works, compelled the garriſon, conſiſting of 165 men, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

In two days more the Britiſh evacuated their poſt at Nelſon's ferry, and deſtroyed a great part of their ſtores. On the day following, fort Granby, garriſoned by 352 men, moſtly royal militia, ſurrendered to Lt. Col. Lee: very advantageous terms were given them, from an apprehenſion that Lord Rawdon was marching to their relief.

Their baggage was ſecured, in which was included an immenſe quantity of plunder. The American militia were much diſguſted at the terms allowed the garriſon, and diſcovered a diſpoſition to break the capitulation and kill the priſoners; but Greene reſtrained them by declaring in the moſt peremptory manner that he would inſtantly put to death any one, who ſhould offer violence to thoſe who by ſurrendering were under his protection.

General Marion with a party of militia marched about this time to George Town, and began regular approaches againſt the Britiſh poſt in that place. On the firſt night after his men had broken ground, their adverſaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleſton; ſhortly after, one Manſon, an inhabitant of South-Carolina, who had joined the Britiſh, appeared in an armed veſſel, and demanded permiſſion to land his men in the town. This being refuſed, he ſent a few of them aſhore and ſet fire to it. Upwards of forty houſes were ſpeedily reduced to aſhes.

In the rapid manner juſt related, the Britiſh loſt ſix poſts, and abandoned all the north-eaſtern extremities of South-Carolina. They ſtill retained poſſeſſion of Auguſta and Ninety-ſix, in addition to their poſts near the ſea coaſt. Immediately after the ſurrender of Fort Granby, Lieutenant-colonel Lee began his march for Auguſta, and in four days completed it.

The Britiſh poſt at Silver-Bluff, with a field piece and conſiderable ſtores, ſurrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion commanded by Captain Rudolph. Lee on his arrival at Auguſta joined Pickens, who with a body of militia had for ſome time paſt taken poſt in the vicinity.

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They jointly carried on their approaches againſt Fort Cornwallis at Auguſta, in which Colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of the parapet which overlooked the fort. From theſe eminences the American riflemen ſhot into the inſide of the works with ſucceſs: the garriſon buried themſelves in a great meaſure under ground, and obſtinately refuſed to capitulate, till the neceſſity was ſo preſſing, that every man who attempted to fire on the beſiegers was immediately ſhot down. At length, when farther reſiſtance would have been madneſs, the fort with about 300 men ſurrrendered on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans during the ſiege had about forty men killed and wounded. After the ſurrender, Lieutenant-colonel Grierſon, of the Britiſh militia, was ſhot by the Americans. A reward of 100 guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of the perfidious deed. Lieutenant-colonel Brown, would probably have ſhared the ſame fate, had not his conquerors furniſhed him with an eſcort to the royal garriſon in Savannah. Individuals whoſe paſſions were inflamed by injuries, and exaſperated with perſonal animoſity, were eager to gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Murders had produced murders. Plundering, aſſaſſinations, and houſe-burnings had become common. Zeal for the King or the Congreſs were the oſtenſible motives of action; but in ſeveral of both ſides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a ſavageneſs of diſpoſition, led to actions which were diſgraceful to human nature. Such was the ſtate of parties in the vicinity of Savannah River, and ſuch the exaſperation of Whigs againſt Tories, and of Tories againſt Whigs; and ſo much had they ſuffered from and inflicted on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts of humanity afforded but a feeble ſecurity for the obſervance of capitulations on either ſide. The American officers exerted themſelves to procure to their priſoners that ſafety which many of the inhabitants, influenced by a remembrance of the ſufferings of themſelves, and of their friends, were unwilling to allow them.

 While

While operations were carrying on againſt the ſmall poſts, Greene proceeded with his main army and laid ſiege to Ninety-ſix, in which Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with upwards of 500 men was advantageouſly poſted. On the left of the beſiegers was a work, erected in the form of a ſtar ; on the right was a ſtrong blockade fort, with two block-houſes in it. The town was alſo picquetted in with ſtrong picquets, and ſurrounded with a ditch, and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The beſiegers were more numerous than the beſieged, but the diſparity was not great.

The ſiege was proſecuted with indefatigable induſtry. The garriſon defended themſelves with ſpirit and addreſs. On the morning after the ſiege began, a party ſallied from the garriſon, and drove the advance of the beſiegers from their works. The next night, two ſtrong block batteries were erected at the diſtance of 350 yards. Another battery 20 feet high, was erected within 220 yards, and ſoon after a fourth one was erected within 100 yards of the main fort, and laſtly, a rifle battery was erected 30 feet high, within 30 yards of the ditch ; from all of which the beſiegers fired into the Britiſh works. The abbatis was turned, and a mine and two trenches were ſo far extended, as to be within ſix feet of the ditch. At that intereſting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garriſon, that Lord Rawdon was near at hand with about 2000 men for their relief. Theſe had arrived in Charleſton from Ireland after the ſiege began, and were marched for Ninety-ſix on the ſeventh day after they landed. In theſe circumſtances, General Greene had no alternative but to raiſe the ſiege, or attempt the reduction of the place by aſſault. The latter was attempted. Though the aſſailants diſplayed great reſolution, they failed of ſucceſs. On this General Greene raiſed the ſiege, and retreated over Saluda. His loſs in the aſſault and previous conflicts was about 150 men. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger deſervedly gained great reputation by this ſucceſsful defence. He was particularly indebted to Major Greene, who had bravely and judiciouſly defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, the greateſt

greateſt exertions had been made. Truly diſtreſſing was the ſituation of the American army. When they were nearly maſters of the whole country, they were compelled to ſeek ſafety by retreating to its remoteſt extremity. In this gloomy ſituation Greene was adviſed to retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To ſuggeſtions of this kind he nobly replied. "I will recover South-Carolina or die in the attempt." This diſtinguiſhed officer, whoſe genius was moſt vigorous in thoſe perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themſelves to deſpair, adopted the only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement till the Britiſh force ſhould be divided. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was near Ninety-ſix, at the time of the aſſault, purſued the Americans as far as the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Deſiſting from this fruitleſs purſuit he drew off a part of his force from Ninety-ſix, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene on hearing that the Britiſh force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon no leſs ſurpriſed than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn purſued Ju and offered him battle. His Lordſhip would not venture out, and his adverſary was too weak to attack him in his encampment with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

Reaſons ſimilar to thoſe which induced the Britiſh to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time to withdraw their troops from Ninety-ſix. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, having evacuated the poſt he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garriſon, through the forks of Ediſto, to join Lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and ſtill leſs ſo to ſtand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by ſtriking at the poſts below it, the ſame manœuvre was now attempted to induce the Britiſh to leave Orangeburgh. With this view Generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the

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legion of cavalry, were detached to Monk's-Corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American General had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest daily declined.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country, which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. This induced Gen. Greene to concert farther measures for forcing them down towards Charleston. He therefore crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the souh side of the latter, intending to act offensively. On his approach the British retired about 40 miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw springs. Gen. Greene advanced with 2000 men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines: the first was composed of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a-head of their main army. These being briskly attacked soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of the action, Col. O. Williams, and Lieut. Col. Campbel, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed

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on in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a ſhower of muſketry, with ſuch unſhaken reſolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieut. Col. Campbel, while bravely leading his men on to that ſucceſsful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen he inquired who gave way, and being informed that the Britiſh were fleeing in all quarters, replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The Britiſh were vigorouſly purſued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken priſoners. On their retreat they took poſt in a ſtrong brick houſe, and in a picquetted garden: from theſe advantageous poſitions they renewed the action. Four ſix pounders were ordered up before the houſe, from under cover of which the Britiſh were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave theſe pieces and retire, but they left a ſtrong picquet on the field of battle, and only retreated to the neareſt water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, Lieut. Col. Stuart, who commanded the Britiſh on this occaſion, left ſeventy of his wounded men, and a thouſand ſtand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleſton. The loſs of the Britiſh incluſive of priſoners, was upwards of 1100 men; that of the Americans above 500, in which number were ſixty officers.

Congreſs honoured Gen. Greene for his good conduct in this action with a Britiſh ſtandard and a gold medal. They alſo voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former poſition on the high hills of Santee, and the Britiſh took poſt in the vicinity of Monk's-Corner. In the cloſe of the year Gen. Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the ſame time the Britiſh abandoned their outpoſts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter houſe on Charleſton-Neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the State, ſeldom aimed at any thing more than to ſecure themſelves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, which had been planted in the ſpring of the year under

Britiſh

British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and sundry small enterprizes were executed, but nothing of more general consequence than the loss of property, and of individual lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781 in South-Carolina. At its commencement the British were in force over all the State; at its close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture 20 miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by Gen. Greene in the short space of a twelvemonth. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half naked army had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the State, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture he would have been discouraged, but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning after a victory.

CHAP. XXIV.

Campaign of 1781. Operations in Virginia: Cornwallis captured: New-London destroyed.

IT has already been mentioned that Lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guildford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charleston would be both tedious and disgraceful,

graceful—and that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the proſecution of ſolid operations in that quarter, would be the moſt effectual plan for effecting and ſecuring the ſubmiſſion of the more ſouthern States. Other arguments of apparently equal force urged his return to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that Gen. Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reaſon from paſt experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants, by a ſecond revolt, would give the American army a ſuperiority over the ſmall force left under Lord Rawdon. Though his Lordſhip was very apprehenſive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either that Lord Rawdon would be able to ſtand his ground, or that Gen. Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia, or in the moſt unfavourable event he flattered himſelf, that by the conqueſt of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His Lordſhip having too much pride to turn back, and preferring the extenſive ſcale of operations which Virginia preſented, to the narrow one of preſerving paſt conqueſts, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the paſſage of the many rivers, with which the country is interſected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The King's troops proceeded ſeveral days without oppoſition, and almoſt without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift-Creek and afterwards at Fiſhing-Creek to ſtop their progreſs, but without any effect. The Britiſh took the ſhorteſt road to Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated ſeveral parties of the Americans and took ſome ſtores, with very little loſs on their ſide. The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were ſucceſſively croſſed by the royal army, and with little or no oppoſition from the diſperſed inhabitants. In leſs than a month the march from Wilmington to Peterſburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correſpondence with Gen. Philips. By this combination

combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when Lord Cornwallis received Lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over Gen. Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Philips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a re-inforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally entrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing Gen. Arnold. On the failure of this, the Marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable re-inforcement, under Gen. Philips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James-River. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the State, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the Marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the ri-

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ing tempeſt, and till he could provide againſt its utmoſt rage, he began to retire with his little army, which conſiſted only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons.

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Peterſburgh to James River, which he croſſed at Weſtown, and thence marching through Hanover county, croſſed the South Anna, or Pamunkey river. The Marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded diſtance. The ſuperiority of the British army, eſpecially of their cavalry, which they eaſily ſupplied with good horſes from the ſtables and paſtures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled him to traverſe the country in all directions. Two diſtant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the Governor and Aſſembly of the State ; the other to Point of Fork, to deſtroy ſtores. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to whom the firſt was committed, ſucceeded ſo far as to diſperſe the Aſſembly, capture ſeven of its members, and to deſtroy a great quantity of ſtores at and near Charlotteville. The other expedition, which was committed to Lieut. Col. Simcoe, was only in part ſucceſsful, for the Americans had previouſly removed the moſt of their ſtores from Point of Fork. In the courſe of theſe marches and countermarches, immenſe quantities of property were deſtroyed, and ſundry unimportant ſkirmiſhes took place. The Britiſh made many partial conqueſts, but theſe were ſeldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young Marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old ſoldier, acted ſo cautiouſly on the defenſive, and made ſo judicious a choice of poſts, and ſhewed ſo much vigour and deſign in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakneſs. In his circumſtances, not to be deſtroyed was triumph. He effected a junction at Racoon-Ford with General Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennſylvanians. While this junction was forming, the Britiſh got between the American army and its ſtores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-houſe. The poſſeſſion of theſe was an object

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with both armies. The Marquis, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the Britiſh army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-houſe. The Britiſh General conſidered himſelf as ſure of his adverſary, for he knew that the ſtores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the Marquis to get between him and the ſtores; but by a road in paſſing which he might be attacked to advantage. The Marquis had the addreſs to extricate himſelf from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-houſe, which had been long diſuſed and was much embarraſſed. To the ſurpriſe of Lord Cornwallis, the Marquis fixed himſelf the next day between the Britiſh army and the American ſtores. Lord Cornwallis, finding his ſchemes fruſtrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the Marquis's army was re-inforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed Lord Cornwallis, and had the addreſs to impreſs him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His Lordſhip therefore retreated to Williamſburgh. The day after the main body of the Britiſh army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under Col. Butler and ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs.

About the time Lord Cornwallis reached Williamſburgh, he received intelligence from New-York, ſetting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was expoſed from a combined attack, that was ſaid to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from Earl Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterpriſe, and recommended to him a healthy ſtation, with an ample defenſive force, till the danger of New-York was diſperſed. Lord Cornwallis thinking it expedient to comply with this requiſition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his preſent poſition at Williamſburgh, determined to retire to Portſmouth. For the execution of this project, it was neceſſary to croſs James River. The Marquis de'la Fayette, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for acting offen-

offenfively, advanced on the Britifh. Gen. Wayne relying on the information of a countryman, that the main body of the Britifh had croffed James River, pufhed forwards with about 800 light troops to harrafs their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole Britifh army drawn up ready to oppofe him. He inftantly conceived that the beft mode of extricating himfelf from his perilous fituation would be, to affume a bold countenance, and engage his adverfaries before he attempted to retreat. He therefore preffed on for fome time, and urged an attack with fpirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwallis, perhaps fufpecting an ambufcade, did not purfue. By this bold manœuvre Wayne got off with little lofs.

In the courfe of thefe various movements, the Britifh were joined by few of the inhabitants, and fcarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the moft part either joined the Americans, or what was much more common, kept out of the way of the Britifh. To purchafe fafety by fubmiffion was the policy of very few, and thefe were for the moft part natives of Britain. After Earl Cornwallis had croffed James River, he marched for Portfmouth. He had previoufly taken the neceffary fteps for complying with the requifition of Sir Henry Clinton, to fend a part of his command to New-York. But before they failed, an exprefs arrived from Sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expreffing his preference of Williamfburgh to Portfmouth for the refidence of the army, and his defire that Old-Point-Comfort, or Hampton road, fhould be fecured as a ftation for the line of battle fhips. The commander in chief at the fame time allowed his Lordfhip to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing the fervice. On examination, Hampton road was not approved of as a ftation for the navy. It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a ftrong permanent poft or place of arms in the Chefapeak, for the fecurity of both the army and navy, and Portfmouth and Hampton road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpofe, York-Town and Gloucefter-Points were confidered as moft likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portfmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrifon transfer-

red to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himſelf of Sir Henry Clinton's permiſſion to retain the whole force under his command, and, impreſſed with the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſtrong place of arms in the Cheſapeak, applied himſelf with induſtry to fortify his new poſts, ſo as to render them tenable by his preſent army, amounting to 7000 men, againſt any force that he ſuppoſed likely to be brought againſt them.

At this period the officers of the Britiſh navy expected that their fleet in the Weſt-Indies would join them, and that ſolid operations in Virginia would in a ſhort time recommence with increaſing vigour.

While they were indulging theſe hopes, Count de Graſſe, with a French fleet of 28 ſail of the line from the Weſt-Indies, entered the Cheſapeak, and about the ſame time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies which had been lately ſtationed in the more northern States, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Graſſe, without loſs of time, blocked up York River with three large ſhips and ſome frigates, and moored the principal part of the fleet in Lynhaven-Bay. Three thouſand two hundred French troops, brought in this fleet from the Weſt-Indies, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, were diſembarked, and ſoon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the Marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took poſt at Williamſburgh. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements ſubſervient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by Lord Cornwallis from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmoſt to re-inforce the royal army in Cheſapeak, or make every diverſion in his power, and that Admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coaſt. On the receipt of this intelligence, Earl Cornwallis, not thinking himſelf juſtified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the reſolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of hiſtory to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundleſs field of contingencies; otherwiſe it might be added, that Earl Cornwallis, by this change

of opinion, loſt a favourable opportunity of extricating himſelf from a combination of hoſtile force, which by farther concentration ſoon became irreſiſtible. On the other hand, if an attack had been made, and that had proved unſucceſsful, he would have been charged with raſhneſs in not waiting for the promiſed co-operation. On the ſame uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be ſaid that the knowledge Earl Cornwallis had of public affairs, would have juſtified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It ſeems as though this would have been his wiſeſt plan; but either from an opinion that his inſtructions to ſtand his ground were poſitive, or that effectual relief was probable, his Lordſhip thought proper to riſque every thing on the iſſue of a ſiege. An attempt was made to burn or diſlodge the French ſhips in the river, but none to evacuate his poſts at this early period, when that meaſure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves, with 20 ſail of the line, made an effort for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpoſe. When he appeared off the capes of Virginia, M. de Graſſe went out to meet him, and an indeciſive engagement took place. The Britiſh were willing to renew the action, but de Graſſe for good reaſons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line of battle ſhips, which was expected from Rhode-Iſland. In conformity to a pre-concerted plan, Count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had ſailed for the Cheſapeak, about the time de Graſſe ſailed from the Weſt-Indies for the ſame place. To avoid the Britiſh fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the Britiſh fleet might intercept him on his approach to the capes of Virginia, de Graſſe came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves and de Graſſe were manœuvring near the mouth of the Cheſapeak, Count de Barras paſſed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty a decided ſuperiority. Admiral Greaves ſoon took his departure, and M. de Graſſe re-entered the Cheſapeak. All this time, con-

formably to the well-digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle States on their way to York-Town. To understand their proper connection, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete route of the American southern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally the King of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, Congress appointed Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him, after repairing to the Court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprise against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negociator were called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardour of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address procured a favourable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented. At this crisis his most Christian Majesty gave his American allies, a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foe was projected.

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The American war was now ſo far involved in the conſequences of naval operations, that a ſuperior French fleet ſeemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely ſoon to take a favourable turn. The Britiſh army being parcelled in the different ſea ports of the United States, any diviſion of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long reſiſt the ſuperior combined force which might be brought to operate againſt it. The Marquis de Caſtries, who directed the marine of France, with great preciſion calculated the naval force which the Britiſh could concenter on the coaſt of the United States, and diſpoſed his own in ſuch a manner as enſured him a ſuperiority. In conformity to theſe principles, and in ſubſerviency to the deſign of the campaign, M. de Graſſe ſailed in March 1781 from Breſt, with 25 ſail of the line, ſeveral thouſand land forces, and a large convoy, amounting to more than 200 ſhips. A ſmall part of this force was deſtined for the Eaſt-Indies, but M. de Graſſe with the greater part ſailed for Martinique. The Britiſh fleet then in the Weſt-Indies had been previouſly weakened by the departure of a ſquadron for the protection of the ſhips which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Euſtatius. The Britiſh Admirals Hood and Drake were detached to intercept the outward bound French fleet commanded by M. de Graſſe, but a junction between his force and eight ſhips of the line, and one of 50 guns, which were previouſly at Martinique and St. Domingo, was neverthele ſs effected. By this combination of freſh ſhips from Europe, with the French fleet previouſly in the Weſt-Indies, they had a decided ſuperiority. M. de Graſſe having finiſhed his buſineſs in the Weſt-Indies, ſailed in the beginning of Auguſt with a prodigious convoy. After ſeeing this out of danger, he directed his courſe for the Cheſapeak, and arrived there, as has been related, on the thirteenth of the ſame month. Five days before his arrival in the Cheſapeak, the French fleet in Rhode-Iſland ſailed for the ſame place. Theſe fleets, notwithſtanding their original diſtance from the ſcene of action, and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner,

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far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counter-action was elapsed. This coincidence of favourable circumstances extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau had passed the Britsh head quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-Town, before Count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner: Monf. de Barras appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with dispatches for Count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Weathersfield, between Gen. Washington, Knox, and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North river. Letters were addressed by Gen. Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas 6200 militia in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, General Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peck's-Kill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time retired with almost the whole of their force to York-

York-Iſland. General Waſhington hoped to be able to to commence operations againſt New-York, about the middle, or at fartheſt the latter end of July. Flat-bottomed boats ſufficient to tranſport 5000 men were built near Albany, and brought down Hudſon's River to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York. Ovens were erected oppoſite to Staten-Iſland, for the uſe of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the ſiege. It was not a little mortifying to General Waſhington, to find himſelf on the 2d of Auguſt to be only a few hundreds ſtronger, than he was on the day his army firſt moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer at the head of a reſpectable force: to have brought that force from a conſiderable diſtance, in confident expectation of re-inforcements ſufficiently large to commence effective operations againſt the common enemy, and at the ſame time to have engagements in behalf of the States violated in direct oppoſition to their own intereſt, and in a manner derogatory to his perſonal honour, was enough to have excited ſtorms and tempeſts in any mind leſs calm than that of Gen. Waſhington. He bore this hard trial with his uſual magnanimity, and contented himſelf with repeating his requiſitions to the States, and at the ſame time urged them by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

That tardineſs of the States, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cauſe of real ſervice. Had they ſent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia as was expected, the ſiege of New-York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in Auguſt. While the ſeaſon was waſting away in expectation of theſe re-inforcements, Lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himſelf near the capes of Virginia. His ſituation there, the arrival of a re-inforcement of 3000 Germans from Europe to New-York, the ſuperior ſtrength of that garriſon, the failure of the States in filling up their

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battalions, and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelligence from Count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeak, concurred about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North River, and passed on the way of Philadelphia to York-Town. An attempt to reduce the British forces in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from General Washington detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign being intercepted, fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New-York could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New-York.

York. Gen. Washington had advanced as far as Chester, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by Monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-Town. It seldom, if ever, happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with so much regularity. In their march to York-Town they had to pass through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march, scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau reached Williamsburgh on the 14th S of September. They, with Generals Chastelleux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to visit Count de Grasse on board his ship the Ville de Paris, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The Count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "He conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risquing an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the General. He sent the Marquis de la Fayette with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter and the persuasions of the Marquis had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeak. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of Gen. Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-Town. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York-River,

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and took a poſition which was calculated to prevent Lord Cornwallis either from retreating or receiving ſuccour by water. Previouſly to the march from Williamſburgh to York-Town, Waſhington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy ſhould be tempted to meet the army on its march, the General particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boaſt, which the Britiſh make of their peculiar proweſs, in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-Town, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day Colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the moſt amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the Britiſh, was mortally wounded and taken priſoner. About this time Lord Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of Admiral Digby with three ſhips of the line from Europe, and the determination of the General and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably ſail on the 5th of October—that this fleet conſiſted of 23 ſail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, Lord Cornwallis quitted his outward poſition and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the ſecurity of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of ſtockade in the rear. A marſhy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The moraſs extended along the center, which was defended by a line of ſtockade, and by batteries: on the left of the center was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took poſſeſſion of the ground from which the Britiſh had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry paſſed over the river to Glouceſter, General de Choiſy inveſted the Britiſh poſt on that ſide ſo fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army

army was ſtraining every nerve to ſtrengthen their works, and their artillery was conſtantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries: they kept up a briſk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The ſhells of the beſiegers reached the ſhips in the harbour, and the Charon of 44 guns and a tranſport ſhip were burned. On the 10th a meſſenger arrived with a diſpatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which ſtated various circumſtances tending to leſſen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Lord Cornwallis was at this juncture adviſed to evacuate York-Town, and after paſſing over to Glouceſter, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been ſucceſsful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have produced any conſequences more injurious to the royal intereſt, than thoſe which reſulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry Clinton, with the promiſed relief, reached York-Town, the precipitancy of the noble Lord would have been perhaps more the ſubject of cenſure, than his reſolution of ſtanding his ground and reſiſting to the laſt extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures I proceed to relate real events. The beſiegers commenced their ſecond parallel 200 yards from the works of the beſieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the Britiſh, greatly impeded the progreſs of the combined armies; it was therefore propoſed to carry them by ſtorm. To excite a ſpirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans, and both marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms. The Americans having paſſed the abbatis and paliſades, they attacked on all ſides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes with the loſs of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieut. Col. Laurens perſonally took the commanding officer priſoner. His humanity and

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that of his aſſociates ſo overcame their reſentments that they ſpared the Britiſh, though they were charged when they went to the aſſault, to remember New-London, (the recent maſſacres at which place ſhall be hereafter related) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the ſword. Being aſked why they had diſobeyed orders by bringing them off as priſoners, they anſwered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the Britiſh were killed and the reſt were captured. Col. Hamilton, who conducted the enterpriſe, in his report to the Marquis de la Fayette mentioned to the honour of his detachment, "That incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they ſpared every man who ceaſed to reſiſt."

The French were equally ſucceſsful on their part. They carried the redoubt aſſigned to them with rapidity, but loſt a conſiderable number of men. Theſe two redoubts were included in the ſecond parallel, and facilitated the ſubſequent operations of the beſiegers. The Britiſh could not with propriety riſque repeated ſallies. One was projected at this time conſiſting of 400 men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded ſo far as to force two redoubts, and to ſpike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and ſoldiers diſplayed great bravery in this enterpriſe, yet their ſucceſs produced no eſſential advantage. The cannon were ſoon unſpiked and rendered fit for ſervice.

By this time the batteries of the beſiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the beſieged were ſo damaged, that they could ſcarcely ſhow a ſingle gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an eſcape. He determined on the latter. This, though leſs practicable than when firſt propoſed, was not altogether hopeleſs. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to tranſport them to Glouceſter-Point. After one whole embarkation had croſſed, a violent ſtorm of wind and rain diſperſed the boats employed on this buſineſs, and fruſtrated the whole ſcheme. The royal army, thus weakened by diviſion, was expoſed to increaſed danger.

 Orders

Orders were ſent to thoſe who had paſſed, to re-croſs the river to York-Town. With the failure of this ſcheme the laſt hope of the Britiſh army expired, Longer reſiſtance could anſwer no good purpoſe, and might occaſion the loſs of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to Gen. Waſhington, requeſting a ceſſation of arms for 24 hours, and that commiſſioners might be appointed to digeſt terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while Lieut. Col. Laurens, the officer employed by Gen. Waſhington on this occaſion, was drawing up theſe articles, that his father was cloſely confined in the Tower of London, of which Lord Cornwallis was Conſtable. By this ſingular combination of circumſtances, his Lordſhip became a priſoner to the ſon of his own priſoner.

The poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be priſoners of war to Congreſs, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their ſide arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviouſly belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be ſubject to be reclaimed. The ſoldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, and to be ſupplied with the ſame rations as are allowed to ſoldiers in the ſervice of Congreſs. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the priſoners; the reſt to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime poſt in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refuſed to General Lincoln on his giving up Charleſton, was now refuſed to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the royal army at York-Town, preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted about 18 months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permiſſion for the Britiſh and German troops to return to their reſpective countries, under no other reſtrictions than an engagement not to ſerve againſt France or America. He alſo tried to obtain an indemnity for thoſe of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the for-

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mer, and alſo to conſent that the loyaliſts in his camp ſhould be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His Lordſhip nevertheleſs obtained permiſſion for the Bonetta ſloop of war to paſs unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of ſcreening ſuch of them as were moſt obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this ſiege, conſiſted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were aſſiſted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the Britiſh about 500, and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by aſſault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that ſurrendered priſoners of war exceeded 7000 men, but ſo great was the number of ſick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery merited and received the higheſt applauſe. Brigadiers General du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of Major-generals on account of their meritorious ſervices. Lieut. Col. Gouvion and Captain Rochefontaine of the corps of engineers, reſpectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a Colonel, and the latter to the rank of a Major.

Congreſs honoured Gen. Waſhington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Graſſe, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their ſervices in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wiſdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with ſingular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried ſucceſs.

A Britiſh fleet and an army of 7000 men, deſtined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Cheſapeak on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his Lordſhip's ſurrender, they returned to Sandy-Hook and New-York. Such was the fate of that General, from whoſe gallantry and previous ſucceſſes the ſpeedy conqueſts

conqueſts of the ſouthern States had been ſo confidently expected. No event during the war bid fairer for overſetting the independence of at leaſt a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the conſequences of that action, his Lordſhip became the occaſion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous ſucceſs was in danger of terminating as a rebellion. The loſs of his army may be conſidered as the cloſing ſcene of the continental war in North America.

The troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis had ſpread waſte and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the ſea-coaſt, and for two hundred miles to the weſtward. Their marches from Charleſton to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Peterſburg, and from Peterſburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally ſettled in York-Town, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they paſſed in theſe various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go whitherſoever they pleaſed; their rage for plunder diſpoſed them to take whatever they had the means of removing, and their animoſity to the Americans led them often to the wanton deſtruction of what they could neither uſe nor carry off. By their means thouſands had been involved in diſtreſs. The reduction of ſuch an army occaſioned unuſual tranſports of joy in the breaſts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated teſtimony aſſerts that the nerves of ſome were ſo agitated, as to produce convulſions, and that at leaſt one man expired under the tide of pleaſure which flowed in upon him, when informed of his Lordſhip's ſurrender.* The people throughout the United States diſplayed a ſocial triumph and exultation, which no private proſperity is ever able fully to inſpire. General Waſhington, on the day after the ſurrender, ordered "That thoſe who were

* The door-keeper of Congreſs, an aged man, died ſuddenly immediately after hearing of the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army. This death was univerſally aſcribed to a violent emotion of political joy.

under arreſt ſhould be pardoned and ſet at liberty." His orders cloſed as follows: "divine ſervice ſhall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and diviſions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty to aſſiſt at it with a ſerious deportment, and that ſenſibility of heart, which the recollection of the ſurpriſing and particular interpoſition of Providence in our favour claims." Congreſs on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at York-Town, reſolved to go in proceſſion to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained; they alſo iſſued a proclamation for "religiouſly obſerving through the United States the 13th of December as a day of thankſgiving and prayer." The ſingularly intereſting event of captivating a ſecond royal army produced ſtrong emotions, which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the moſt rapturous joy uſually diſplays itſelf.

While the combined armies were advancing to the ſiege of York-Town, an excurſion was made from New-York, which was attended with no ſmall loſs to the Americans. Gen. Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New-London in his native country. The troops employed therein were landed in two detachments on each ſide of the harbour. The one was commanded by Lieut. Col. Eyre, and the other by General Arnold. The latter met with little oppoſition; Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable were evacuated, and the men croſſed the river to Fort Griſwold on Groton Hill. This was furiouſly attacked by Lieut. Col. Eyre: the garriſon defended themſelves with great reſolution, but after a ſevere conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the aſſailants. The Americans had not more than ſix or ſeven men killed, when the Britiſh carried their lines, but a ſevere execution took place afterwards though reſiſtance had ceaſed. An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort who commanded. Colonel Ledyard anſwered,

"I did.

"I did, but you do now." And presented him his sword. The Colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British 48 were killed, and 145 wounded: among the latter was Major Montgomery, and among the former was Colonel Eyre. About 15 vessels loaded with the effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes, and the loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions, and merchandize, was immense. Gen. Arnold having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favour of the Americans. It began with weakness in Carolina, mutiny in New-Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; nevertheless in its close, the British were confined to their strong-holds in or near New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in the course of the year had acquired much plunder, by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefited. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores or distressing individuals and enriching the officers and privates of their army and navy. The important services rendered by France to the Americans,

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cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly, inoffenſive behaviour of the French troops in the United States, contraſted with the havoc of property made by the Britiſh in their marches and excurſions, was ſilently turning the current of popular eſteem in favour of the former, and working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the eſtabliſhment of that which had taken place in the government. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode-Iſland received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months reſidence among them. The ſoldiers were rather a guard than a nuiſance: the citizens met with no interruption when proſecuting their lawful buſineſs, either by night or day, and were treated with every mark of attention and reſpect. While the progreſs of the Britiſh army, in a circuitous march of 1100 miles from Charleſton to York-Town, was marked with rapine and deſolation; the march of the French troops from Rhode-Iſland to the ſame place, a diſtance near equal in a right line, was productive of no inconvenience to the intermediate inhabitants. They were welcome gueſts wherever they came, for they took nothing by fraud or force, but punctually paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a conteſt where the good-will of the people had ſo powerful an influence on its final iſſue, ſuch oppoſite modes of conduct could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and juſtice of the French met with its reward in the general good will of the people, but the violence and rapine of the Britiſh contributed, among other things, to work the final overthrow of all their ſchemes in America.

On the laſt day of this year Henry Laurens was releaſed from his long confinement in the Tower of London. He had been committed there, as already related, on the 6th of October 1780, "on ſuſpicion of high treaſon," after being examined in the preſence of Lord Stormont, Lord George Germaine, Lord Hillſborough, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Juſtice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the Lieutenant

nant of the Tower to receive and confine him. Their Lordſhips orders were, "To confine him a cloſe priſoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the cuſtody of two warders; not to ſuffer him to be out of their ſight one moment, day or night; to allow him no liberty of ſpeaking to any perſon, nor to permit any perſon to ſpeak to him; to deprive him of the uſe of pen and ink; to ſuffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and ſeverely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this ſituation he was conducted to apartments in the Tower, and was ſhut up in two ſmall rooms which together made about twenty feet ſquare, with a warder for his conſtant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converſe with, and without any proſpect or even the means of correſpondence. Being debarred the uſe of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved an uſeful ſubſtitute. After a month's confinement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a ſword in his hand foilowed cloſe behind. This indulgence was occaſionally uſed for about three weeks, when Lord George Gordon, who was alſo a priſoner in the Tower, unluckily met and aſked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer and inſtantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this tranſgreſſion of orders, and locked him up for 37 days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the Governor relented ſo far, as to permit his priſoner to walk on the parade before the door, but this favour, as coming from him, was refuſed. General Vernon, on hearing of what had paſſed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens ſhould be permitted to walk out, and this exerciſe was in conſequence thereof reſumed, after an intermiſſion of two months and a half.

About this time an old friend and mercantile correſpondent having ſolicited the Secretaries of State for Mr. Laurens' enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as ſecurity for his good conduct, ſent him the following meſſage: "Their Lordſhips ſay, if you will

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point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the Colonies, you shall be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the Tower, but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonour you nor myself. I can foresee what will come to pass, happen to me what may. I fear no possible consequences."

The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows: "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great Britain. I have certain propositions to make for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what they were, and added, "That an honest man required no time to give an answer, in a case where his honour was concerned." "If," said he, "the Secretaries of State will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "No, Sir, you must stay in London among your friends: the Ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: you can write two or three lines to the Ministers, and barely say you are sorry for what is past: a pardon will be granted: every man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were thrown out of the possible consequences of his refusal: to which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences but such as would flow from dishonourable acts."

In about a week after this interview, Major-general James Grant, who had long been acquainted with Mr. Laurens,

Laurens, and had ſerved with him near twenty years before, on an expedition againſt the Cherokee Indians, viſited him in the Tower, and talked much of the inconveniencies of his ſituation, and then addreſſed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propoſitions you have to make to adminiſtration, and I will deliver them myſelf." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, but not one propoſition, beyond repeating a requeſt to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what conſequences might follow before I entered into the preſent diſpute. I took the path of juſtice and honour, and no perſonal evils can cauſe me to ſhrink."

About this time Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, the eldeſt ſon of Henry Laurens, arrived in France as the ſpecial Miniſter of Congreſs. The father was requeſted to write to the ſon to withdraw himſelf from the Court of France, and aſſurances were given that it would operate in his favour. To theſe requeſts he replied, "My ſon is of age, and has a will of his own; if I ſhould write to him in the terms you requeſt, it would have no effect: he would only conclude, that confinement and perſuaſion had ſoftened me. I know him to be a man of honour; he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to ſave mine; but I am ſure he would not ſacrifice his honour to ſave my life, and I applaud him."

Mr. Laurens penciled an addreſs to the Secretaries of State for the uſe of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to anſwer his immediate exigencies, and to requeſt that his youngeſt ſon might be permitted to viſit him, for the purpoſe of concerting a plan for his farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their Lordſhips: but they, though they had made no proviſion for the ſupport of their priſoner, returned no anſwer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languiſh in confinement under many infirmities, and without the means of applying his own reſources on the ſpot, for his immediate ſupport.

As ſoon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the Tower, he was called upon to pay 97*l.* 10*s.* ſterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I was ſent to the Tower by the Secretaries of State without money, (for ought they knew)—their Lordſhips have never ſupplied me with any thing.—It is now upwards of three months ſince I informed their Lordſhips that the fund I had hitherto ſubſiſted upon was nearly exhauſted, and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which they have been pleaſed to refuſe by the moſt grating of all denials a total ſilence, and now a demand is made for 97*l.* 10*s.* If their Lordſhips will permit to me draw for money where it is due to me, I will continue to pay my own expences, but I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whoſe attendance I ſhall be glad to diſpenſe with."

Three weeks after, the Secretaries of State conſented that Mr. Laurens ſhould have the uſe of pen and ink, for the purpoſe of drawing a bill of exchange, but they were taken away the moment that buſineſs was done.

About this time Henry Laurens, jun. wrote an humble requeſt to Lord Hillſborough for permiſſion to ſee his father, which his Lordſhip refuſed to grant. He had at firſt been permitted to viſit his father, and converſe with him for a ſhort time; but theſe interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheleſs occaſionally met on the lines and ſaluted each other, but durſt not exchange a ſingle word, leſt it might occaſion a ſecond confinement, ſimilar to that to which Lord George Gordon had been acceſſary.

As the year 1781 drew near a cloſe, Mr. Laurens' ſufferings in the Tower became generally known, and excited compaſſion in his favour, and odium againſt the authors of his confinement. It had been alſo found by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no conceſſions could be obtained from him. It was therefore reſolved to releaſe him, but difficulties aroſe about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not conſent to any act which implied that he was a Britiſh ſubject, and he had been committed as ſuch, on charge of high treaſon. Miniſters to extricate themſelves from

from this difficulty, at length propofed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our Sovereign Lord the King," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my Sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Ofwald and Mr. Anderfon as his fecurities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of King's-Bench the next Eafter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Thus ended a long and a painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediately releafed. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only difcharged from all obligations to attend, but was requefted by Lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in fubferviency to a fcheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens, ftartled at the idea of being releafed without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himfelf to be a prifoner of war, replied, that "He durft not accept himfelf as a gift, and that as Congrefs had once offered Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving Lieut. Gen. Earl Cornwallis for the fame purpofe."

APPENDIX, No. III.

Of the treatment of prifoners, and of the diftreffes of the Inhabitants.

MANY circumftances concurred to make the American war particularly calamitous. It was originally a civil war in the eftimation of both parties, and a rebellion to its termination, in the opinion of one of them. Unfortunately for mankind doubts have been entertained of the obligatory force of the law of nations in fuch cafes. The refinement of modern ages has ftripped war of half its horrors, but the fyftems of fome illiberal men have tended to re-produce the barbarifm of Gothic times, by withholding the benefits of that refinement from thofe who are effecting revolutions. An enlightened philanthropift embraces the whole human race

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and inquires, not whether an object of diſtreſs is or is not an unit of an acknowledged nation. It is ſufficient that he is a child of the ſame common parent, and capable of happineſs or miſery. The prevalence of ſuch a temper would have greatly leſſened the calamities of the American war, but while from contracted policy, unfortunate captives were conſidered as not entitled to the treatment of priſoners, they were often doomed, without being guilty, to ſuffer the puniſhment due to criminals.

The firſt American priſoners were taken on the 17th of June, 1775. Theſe were thrown indiſcriminately into the jail at Boſton, without any conſideration of their rank. Gen. Waſhington wrote to Gen. Gage on this ſubject, to which the latter anſwered by aſſerting that the priſoners had been treated with care and kindneſs, though indiſcriminately, "as he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the King." To which Gen. Waſhington replied, "You affect, Sir, to deſpiſe all rank not derived from the ſame ſource with your own; I cannot conceive one more honourable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the pureſt ſource and original fountain of all power."

Gen. Carleton during his command conducted towards the American priſoners with a degree of humanity that reflected the greateſt honour on his character. Before he commenced his operations on the lakes in 1776, he ſhipped off thoſe of them who were officers for New-England, but previouſly ſupplied them with every thing requiſite to make their voyage comfortable. The other priſoners, amounting to 800, were ſent home by a flag, after exacting an oath from them, not to ſerve during the war unleſs exchanged. Many of theſe being almoſt naked were comfortably cloathed by his orders, previouſly to their being ſent off.

The capture of Gen. Lee proved calamitous to ſeveral individuals. Six Heſſian field officers were offered in exchange for him, but this was refuſed. It was ſaid by the Britiſh, that Lee was a deſerter from their ſervice, and as ſuch could not expect the indulgences uſually given to priſoners of war. The Americans replied, that as he

he had resigned his British commission previously to his accepting one from the Americans, he could not be considered as a deserter. He was nevertheless confined, watched, and guarded. Congress thereupon resolved, that Gen Washington be directed to inform Gen. Howe, that should the proffered exchange of Gen. Lee for six field officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him as above mentioned be continued, the principles of retaliation should occasion five of the said Hessian field officers, together with Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, to be detained, in order that the said treatment which Gen. Lee received, should be exactly inflicted on their persons." The Campbell thus designated as the subject of retaliation, was a humane man, and a meritorious officer, who had been captured by some of the Massachusett's privateers near Boston, to which, from the want of information, he was proceeding soon after the British had evacuated it. The above act of Congress was forwarded to Massachusetts with a request that they would detain Lieut. Col. Campbell and keep him in safe custody till the further order of Congress. The council of Massachusett's exceeded this request, and sent him to Concord jail, where he was lodged in a gloomy dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square. The attendance of a single servant on his person was denied him, and every visit from a friend refused.

The prisoners captured by Sir William Howe in 1776 amounted to many hundreds. The officers were admitted to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to them as quarters; but the privates were shut up in the coldest season of the year in churches, sugar houses, and other large open buildings. The severity of the weather, and the rigor of their treatment, occasioned the death of many hundreds of these unfortunate men. The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in one building, at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity. The provisions served out to them were deficient in quantity, and of an unwholsome quality. These suffering prisoners were

generally

generally preſſed to enter into the Britiſh ſervice, but hundreds ſubmitted to death, rather than procure a melioration of their circumſtances by enliſting with the enemies of their country. After Gen. Waſhington's ſucceſſes at Trenton and Princeton, the American priſoners fared ſomewhat better. Thoſe who ſurvived were ordered to be ſent out for exchange, but ſome of them fell down dead in the ſtreets, while attempting to walk to the veſſels. Others were ſo emaciated that their appearance was horrible. A ſpeedy death cloſed the ſcene with many.

The American board of war, after conferring with Mr. Boudinot, the commiſſary-general of priſoners, and examining evidences produced by him, reported among other things, "That there were 900 privates and 300 officers of the American army, priſoners in the city of New-York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers priſoners in Philadelphia. That ſince the beginning of October all theſe priſoners, both officers and privates, had been confined in priſon ſhips or the Provoſt: that from the beſt evidence the ſubject could admit of, the general allowance of priſoners at moſt did not exceed four ounces of meat per day, and often ſo damaged as not to be eatable: that it had been a common practice with the Britiſh, on a priſoner's being firſt captured, to keep him three, four, or five days, without a morſel of meat, and then to tempt him to enliſt to ſave his life: that there were numerous inſtances of priſoners of war periſhing in all the agonies of hunger."

About this time there was a meeting of merchants and others in London, for the purpoſe of raiſing a ſum of money to relieve the diſtreſſes of the American priſoners, then in England, The ſum ſubſcribed for that purpoſe amounted in two months to £4647 15*s*. Thus while human nature was diſhonoured by the cruelties of ſome of the Britiſh in America, there was a laudable diſplay of the benevolence of others of the ſame nation in Europe. The American ſailors, when captured by the Britiſh, ſuffered more than even the ſoldiers which fell into their hands. The former were confined on board priſon ſhips; they

they were there crowded together in ſuch numbers, and their accommodations were ſo wretched, that diſeaſes broke out and ſwept them off in a manner that was ſufficient to excite compaſſion in breaſts of the leaſt ſenſibility. It has been aſſerted, on as good evidence as the caſe will admit, that in the laſt ſix years of the war upwards of eleven thouſand perſons died on board the Jerſey, one of theſe priſon ſhips, which was ſtationed in Eaſt-River near New-York. On many of theſe, the rights of ſepulture were never, or but very imperfectly conferred. For ſome time after the war was ended, their bones lay whitening in the ſun on the ſhores of Long-Iſland.

The operations of treaſon laws added to the calamities of the war. Individuals on both ſides, while they were doing no more than they ſuppoſed to be their duty, were involved in the penal conſequences of capital crimes. The Americans in conformity to the uſual policy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all who reſided among them, but ſeveral of theſe preferred the late royal government, and were diſpoſed, when opportunity offered, to ſupport it. While they acted in conformity to theſe ſentiments, the laws enacted for the ſecurity of the new government condemned them to death. Hard is the lot of a people involved in civil war; for in ſuch circumſtances the lives of individuals may not only be legally forfeited, but juſtly taken from thoſe who have acted ſolely from a ſenſe of duty. It is to be wiſhed that ſome more rational mode than war might be adopted for deciding national contentions; but of all wars, thoſe which are called civil are moſt to be dreaded: they are attended with the bittereſt reſentments, and produce the greateſt quantity of human woes. In the American war, the diſtreſſes of the country were aggravated, from the circumſtance that every man was obliged, ſome way or other, to be in the public ſervice. In Europe, where military operations are carried on by armies hired and paid for the purpoſe, the common people partake but little of the calamities of war; but in America, where the whole people were enrolled as a militia, and where both ſides endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves by oaths and

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by laws, denouncing the penalties of treafon on thofe who aided or abetted the oppofite party, the fufferings of individuals were renewed as often as fortune varied her ftandard. Each fide claimed the co-operation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punifh when it was withheld. Where either party had a decided fuperiority the common people were comparatively undifturbed; but the intermediate fpace between the contending armies was fubject to the alternate ravages of both.

In the firft inftitution of the American governments, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed. Committees exercifed legiflative, executive, and judicial powers. It is not to be doubted, that in many inftances thefe were improperly ufed, and that private refentments were often covered under the fpecious veil of patriotifm. The fufferers in paffing over to the royalifts, carried with them a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and when opportunity prefented, were tempted to retaliate. From the nature of the cafe, the original offenders were lefs frequently the objects of retaliation than thofe who were entirely innocent. One inftance of feverity begat another, and they continued to increafe in a proportion that doubled the evils of common war. From one unadvifed ftep, individuals were often involved in the lofs of all their property. Some from prefent appearances, apprehending that the Britifh would finally conquer, repaired to their ftandard. Their return after the partial ftorm which intimidated them to fubmiffion had blown over, was always difficult and often impoffible. From this fingle error in judgement, fuch were often obliged to feek fafety by continuing to fupport the intereft of thofe to whom, in an hour of temptation, they had devoted themfelves. The embarraffments on both fides were often fo great, that many in the humbler walks of life could not tell what courfe was beft to purfue. It was happy for thofe who having made up their minds on the nature of the conteft, invariably followed the dictates of their confciences, for in every inftance they enjoyed felf-approbation. Though they could not be deprived of this reward, they were not always fuccefsful in faving

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their property. They who varied with the times, in like manner often miſſed their object, for to ſuch it frequently happened that they were plundred by both, and loſt the eſteem of all. A few ſaved their credit and their property; but of theſe, there was not one for every hundred of thoſe who were materially injured either in the one or the other. The American Whigs were exaſperated againſt thoſe of their fellow citizens who joined their enemies, with a reſentment which was far more bitter than that which they harboured againſt their European adverſaries. Feeling that the whole ſtrength of the States was ſcarcely ſufficient to protect them againſt the Britiſh, they could not brook the deſertion of their countrymen to invading foreigners. They ſeldom would give them credit for acting from principle, but generally ſuppoſed them to be influenced either by cowardice or intereſt, and were therefore inclined to proceed againſt them with rigor. They were filled with indignation at the idea of fighting for the property of ſuch as had deſerted their country, and were therefore clamorous that it ſhould be ſeized for public ſervice. The royaliſts raiſed the cry of perſecution, and loudly complained that merely for ſupporting the government under which they were born, and to which they owed a natural allegiance, they were doomed to ſuffer all the penalties due to capital offenders. Thoſe of them who acted from principle felt no conſciouſneſs of guilt, and could not look but with abhorrence upon a government which inflicted ſuch ſevere puniſhments on what they deemed a laudable line of conduct. Humanity would ſhudder at a particular recital of the calamities which the Whigs inflicted on the Tories, and the Tories on the Whigs. It is particularly remarkable that on both ſides, they for the moſt part conſoled themſelves with the belief, that they were acting or ſuffering in a good cauſe. Though the rules of moral right and wrong never vary, political innocence and guilt change ſo much with circumſtances, that the innocence of the ſufferer, and of the party that puniſhes, are often compatible. The diſtreſſes of the American priſoners in the ſouthern States prevailed particularly towards the cloſe of the war. Colonel

Campbell,

Campbell, who reduced Savannah, though he had personally suffered from the Americans, treated all who fell into his hands with humanity. Those who were taken at Savannah and at Ashe's defeat, suffered very much from his successors in South-Carolina. The American prisoners, with a few exceptions, had but little to complain of till after Gates' defeat. Soon after that event, sundry of them, though entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charleston, were separated from their families and sent into exile; others in violation of the same solemn agreement were crowded into prison ships, and deprived of the use of their property. When a general exchange of prisoners was effected, the wives and children of those inhabitants who adhered to the Americans, were exiled from their homes to Virginia and Philadelphia. Upwards of one thousand persons were thrown upon the charity of their fellow citizens in the more northern States. This severe treatment was the occasion of retaliating on the families of those who had taken part with the British. In the first months of the year 1781, the British were in force in the remotest settlements of South-Carolina, but as their limits were contracted in the course of the year, the male inhabitants who joined them, thought proper to retire with the royal army towards the capital. In retaliation for the expulsion of the wives and children of the Whig Americans from the State, Governor Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia to send within the British lines the families of such of the inhabitants as adhered to their interest. In consequence of this order, and more especially in consequence of the one which occasioned it, several hundreds of helpless women and children were reduced to great distress.

The refugees who had fled to New-York were formed into an association under Sir Henry Clinton, for the purposes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their several excursions would fill a volume, and would answer little purpose but to excite compassion and horror. Towards the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bolder

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ſcale. Captain Joſhua Huddy, who commanded a ſmall party of Americans at a Block-houſe, in Monmouth County, New-Jerſey, was, after a gallant reſiſtance, taken priſoner by a party of theſe refugees. He was brought to New-York, and there kept in cloſe cuſtody fifteen days, and then told "that he was ordered to be hanged." Four days after, he was ſent out with a party of refugees, and hanged on the heights of Middleton. The following label was affixed on his breaſt, "We the refugees having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but ſuch meaſures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to ſuffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and have made uſe of Capt. Huddy as the firſt object to preſent to your view, and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee exiſting: up goes Huddy for Philip White." The Philip White in retaliation for whom Huddy was hanged, had been taken by a party of the Jerſey militia, and was killed in attempting to make his eſcape.

General Waſhington reſolved on retaliation for this deliberate murder, but inſtead of immediately executing a Britiſh officer, he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, that unleſs the murderers of Huddy were given up, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of retaliating. The former being refuſed, Capt. Aſgill was deſignated by lot for that purpoſe. In the mean time the Britiſh inſtituted a court martial for the trial of Capt. Lippencutt, who was ſuppoſed to be the principal agent in executing Capt. Huddy. It appeared in the courſe of this trial, that Gov. Franklin, the Preſident of the board of aſſociated loyaliſts, gave Lippencutt verbal orders for what he did, and that he had been deſignated as a proper ſubject for retaliation, having been, as the refugees ſtated, a perſecutor of the loyaliſts, and particularly as having been inſtrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, who had been one of that deſcription. The court having conſidered the whole matter, gave their opinion, "That as what Lippencutt did was not the effect of malice or ill-will, but proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the or-

ders

ders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and as he did not doubt their having full authority to give such orders, he was not guilty of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore they acquitted him." Sir Guy Carleton, who a little before this time had been appointed commander in chief of the British army, in a letter to Gen. Washington, accompanying the trial of Lippencutt, declared, "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencutt, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurances of prosecuting a farther inquiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time broke up the board of associated loyalists, which prevented a repetition of similar excesses. The war also drawing near a close, the motives for retaliation as tending to prevent other murders, in a great measure ceased. In the mean time General Washington received a letter from the Count de Vergennes, interceding for Capt. Asgill, which was also accompanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, Mrs. Asgill, to the Count. Copies of these several letters were forwarded to Congress, and soon after they resolved, "that the commander in chief be directed to set Capt. Asgill at liberty." The lovers of humanity rejoiced that the necessity for retaliation was superseded, by the known humanity of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well-founded prospect of a speedy peace. Asgill, who had received every indulgence, and who had been treated with all possible politeness, was released and permitted to go to New-York.

CHAP. XXVI.

Campaign of 1782. *Foreign Events and Negociations. Peace* 1782.

AFTER the capture of Lord Cornwallis, Gen. Washington, with the greatest part of his force, returned to the vicinity of New-York. He was in no condition to attempt the reduction of that post, and the royal army had good reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communication between town

town and country, ſome indeciſive ſkirmiſhes and predatory excurſions, were the principal evidences of an exiſting ſtate of war. This in a great meaſure was alſo the caſe in South-Carolina. From December 1781, Gen. Greene had poſſeſſion of all the State except Charleſton and the vicinity. The Britiſh ſometimes ſallied out of their lines for the acquiſition of property and proviſions, but never for the purpoſe of conqueſt. In oppoſing one of theſe near Combahee, Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, an accompliſhed officer of uncommon merit, was mortally wounded. Nature had adorned him with a large proportion of her choiceſt gifts, and theſe were highly cultivated by an elegant, uſeful, and practical education. His patriotiſm was of the moſt ardent kind. The moment he was of age, he broke off from the amuſements of London, and on his arrival in America, inſtantly joined the army. Wherever the war raged moſt, there was he to be found. A dauntleſs bravery was the leaſt of his virtues, and an exceſs of it his greateſt foible. His various talents fitted him to ſhine in courts or camps, or popular aſſemblies. He had a heart to conceive, a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute ſchemes of the moſt extenſive utility to his country, or rather to mankind, for his enlarged philanthropy knowing no bounds, embraced the whole human race. This excellent young man, who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature, loſt his life in the 27th year of his age, in an unimportant ſkirmiſh with a foraging party, in the very laſt moments of the war.

At the commencement of the year 1782, the Britiſh had more extenſive range in Georgia than in any other of the United States, but of this they were ſoon abridged. From the unſucceſsful iſſue of the aſſault on Savannah in 1779, that State had eminently ſuffered the deſolations of war. Political hatred raged to ſuch a degree, that the blood of its citizens was daily ſhed by the hands of each other, contending under the names of Whigs and Tories. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the weſtern ſettlements, and exerciſed the powers of indepen-

dent government. The whole extent between these and the capital, was subject to the alternate ravages of both parties. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, Gen. Greene being re-inforced by the Pennsylvania line, was enabled to detach Gen. Wayne with a part of the southern army to Georgia. Gen. Clarke who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his officers in the out-posts, to burn as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British, the Governor came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer, and re-established government in the vicinity of the sea coast.

Colonel Brown at the head of a considerable force marched out of the garrison of Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne by a bold manœuvre got in his rear, attacked him at twelve o'clock at night and routed his whole party. A large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their chiefs and a British officer, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. For a few minutes they possessed themselves of his field pieces, but they were soon recovered. In the mean time Colonel White with a party of the cavalry came up, and pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged in close quarters. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length completely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged State. In about three months after the capture of Lord Cornwallis was known in Great Britain, the Parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. In consequence thereof, every idea of conquest being given up, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia and South-Carolina. Peace was restored to Georgia, after it had been upwards of three years in possession of the British, and had been ravaged nearly from one extreme to the other. It is computed that the State lost by the war, one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand slaves. In about five months after the British left Georgia, they

they in like manner withdrew their force from South-Carolina. The inhabitants of Charleſton, who had remained therein, while it was poſſeſſed by the Britiſh, felt themſelves happy in being delivered from the ſeverities of a garriſon life. The exiled citizens collected from all quarters, and took poſſeſſion of their eſtates. Thus in leſs than three years from the landing of the Britiſh in South-Carolina, they withdrew all their forces from it. In that time the citizens had ſuffered an accumulation of evils. There was ſcarcely an inhabitant, however obſcure in character, or remote in ſituation, whether he remained firm to one party, or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general diſtreſs.

In modern Europe the revolutions of public affairs ſeldom diſturb the humble obſcurity of private life, but the American revolution involved the intereſt of every family, and deeply affected the fortunes and happineſs of almoſt every individual in the United States. South-Carolina loſt a great number of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its ſlaves. Property was ſported with by both parties. Beſides thoſe who fell in battle, or died of diſeaſes brought on by the war, many were inhumanly murdered by private aſſaſſinations. The country abounded with widows and orphans. The ſeverities of a military life co-operating with the climate, deſtroyed the healths and lives of many hundreds of the invading army. Excepting thoſe who enriched themſelves by plunder, and a few ſucceſsful ſpeculators, no private advantage was gained by individuals on either ſide, but an experimental conviction of the folly and madneſs of war.

Though in the year 1782, the United States afforded few great events, the reverſe was the caſe with the other powers involved in the conſequences of the American war.

Minorca, after a tedious ſiege ſurrendered to the Duke de Crillon, in the ſervice of his moſt Catholic Majeſty. About the ſame time the ſettlements of Demarara and Eſſequibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the Britiſh, were taken from them by the French. The gallant Marquis de Bouille added to the ſplendor of his former fame by reducing St. Euſtatia and St. Kitt's, the former

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at the close of the year 1781, and the latter early in the year 1782. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Kitt's. The French at this period seemed to be established in the West-Indies on a firm foundation. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncommonly great. The strength of these two monarchies had never before been so conspicuously displayed in that quarter of the globe. Their combined navies amounted to threescore ships of the line, and these were attended with a prodigious multitude of frigates and armed vessels. With this immense force they entertained hopes of wresting from his Britannic Majesty a great part of his West-India islands.

In the mean time, the British Ministry prepared a strong squadron for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by Admiral Rodney, and amounted, after a junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and the arrival of three ships from Great-Britain, to 36 sail of the line.

It was the design of Count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at Martinique, amounting to 34 sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola and join the Spanish Admiral Don Solano, who, with sixteen ships of the line and a considerable land force, was waiting for his arrival, and to make in concert with him an attack on Jamaica.

The British Admiral wished to prevent this junction, or at least to force an engagement before it was effected. Admiral Rodney came up with Count de Grasse, soon after he had set out to join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. Partial engagements took place on the three first days, after they came near to each other. In these, two of the French ships were so much damaged, that they were obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general engagement took place: this began at seven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between twelve and one o'clock, when Admiral Rodney broke the French line of battle, by bearing down upon their center, and

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penetrating through it. The land forces deſtined for the expedition againſt Jamaica, amounting to 5500 men, were diſtributed on board the French fleet. Their ſhips were therefore ſo crowded, that the ſlaughter on board was prodigious. The battle was fought on both ſides with equal ſpirit, but with a very unequal iſſue. The French for near a century had not in any naval engagement been ſo completely defeated. Their fleet was little leſs than ruined. Upwards of 400 men were killed on board one of their ſhips, and the whole number of their killed and wounded amounted to ſeveral thouſands, while the loſs of the Britiſh did not much exceed 1100 men. The French loſt in this action, and the ſubſequent purſuit, eight ſhips of the line. On board the captured ſhips was the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, intended for the expedition againſt Jamaica. One of them was the Ville de Paris, ſo called from the city of Paris, having built her at its own expence, and made a preſent of her to the King. She had coſt four millions of livres, and was eſteemed the moſt magnificent ſhip in France; ſhe carried 110 guns, and had on board 1300 men. This was truly an unfortunate day to Count de Graſſe. Though his behaviour throughout the whole action was firm and intrepid, and his reſiſtance continued till he and two more were the only men left ſtanding upon the upper deck, he was at laſt obliged to ſtrike. It was no ſmall addition to his misfortunes that he was on the point of forming a junction, which would have ſet him above all danger. Had this taken place, the whole Britiſh naval power in the Weſt-Indies, on principles of ordinary calculation, would have been inſufficient to have prevented him from carrying into effect, ſchemes of the moſt extenſive conſequence.

The ſhips of the defeated fleet fled in a variety of directions. Twenty-three or twenty-four ſail made the beſt of their way to Cape François. This was all that remained in a body of that fleet, which was lately ſo formidable. By this ſignal victory, the deſigns of France and Spain were fruſtrated. No farther enterpriſes were

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undertaken againſt the fleets or poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the Weſt-Indies, and ſuch meaſures were only embraced as ſeemed requiſite for the purpoſe of ſafety. When the news of Admiral Rodney's victory reached Great Britain, a general joy was diffuſed over the nation. Before there had been much deſpondency. Their loſſes in the Cheſapeak and in the Weſt-Indies, together with the increaſing number of their enemies, had depreſſed the ſpirits of the great body of the people; but the advantages gained on the 12th of April placed them on high ground, either for ending or proſecuting the war. It was fortunate for the Americans, that this ſucceſs of the Britiſh was poſterior to their loſs in Virginia. It ſo elevated the ſpirits of Britain, and ſo depreſſed the hopes of France, that had it taken place prior to the ſurrender of Lord Cornwallis, that event would have been leſs influential in diſpoſing the nation to peace. As the cataſtrophe of York-Town cloſed the national war in North-America, ſo the defeat of de Graſſe, in a great meaſure, put a period to hoſtilities in the Weſt-Indies.

Other deciſive events ſoon followed, which diſpoſed another of the belligerent powers to a pacification. Gibraltar, though ſucceſſively relieved, ſtill continued to be beſieged. The reduction of Minorca inſpired the Spaniſh nation with freſh motives to perſeverance. The Duke de Crillon, who had been recently ſucceſsful in the ſiege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the ſiege of Gibraltar, and it was reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh monarchy in ſeconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expence ſpared, that promiſed to forward the views of the beſiegers. From the failure of all plans hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was reſolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpoſe, one which had been formed by the Chevalier D'Arcon was deemed the moſt worthy of trial. This was to conſtruct ſuch floating batteries as could neither be ſunk nor fired. With this view, their bottoms were made of the thickeſt timber, and their ſides of wood and cork long ſoaked in water, with a large layer of wet ſand between.

To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made sloping and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from 28 to 10 guns each, and were seconded by 80 large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The 13th day of September was fixed upon by the besiegers for making a grand attack, when the new-invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in their highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibraltar amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment was tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries, and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the

the expectations of their framers. The heavieſt ſhells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound ſhot made no viſible impreſſion upon their hulls. For ſome hours, the attack and defence were ſo equally ſupported, as ſcarcely to admit any appearance of ſuperiority on either ſide. The conſtruction of the battering ſhips was ſo well calculated for withſtanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they ſeemed for ſome time to bid defiance to the powers of the heavieſt ordnance, In the afternoon the effects of hot ſhot became viſible. At firſt there was only an appearance of ſmoke, but in the courſe of the night, after the fire of the garriſon had continued about 15 hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and ſeveral more were viſibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the beſiegers were now excluſively directed to bring off the men from the burning veſſels, but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with 12 gun boats, advanced and fired upon them with ſuch order and expedition, as to throw them into confuſion before they had finiſhed their buſineſs. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of day light diſcloſed a moſt dreadful ſpectacle. Many were ſeen in the midſt of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, expoſed to equal danger from the oppoſite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it expoſed them to no leſs danger than thoſe of active hoſtility. In endeavouring to ſave the lives of his enemies, Capt. Curtis nearly loſt his own. While for the moſt benevolent purpoſe he was along ſide the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and ſome heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat, and pierced through its bottom. By ſimilar perilous exertions, near 400 men were ſaved from inevitable deſtruction. The exerciſe of humanity to an enemy under ſuch circumſtances of immediate action and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of victories. It in ſome degree obſcured the impreſſion made to the diſadvantage

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of human nature, by the madneſs of mankind in deſtroying each other by waſteful wars. The floating batteries were all conſumed. The violence of their exploſion was ſuch, as to burſt open doors and windows at a great diſtance. Soon after the deſtruction of the floating batteries, Lord Howe, with 35 ſhips of the line, brought to the brave garriſon an ample ſupply of every thing wanted, either for their ſupport or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar was the third deciſive event in the courſe of a twelve month, which favoured the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace.

1782.

The capture of the Britiſh army in Virginia, the defeat of Count de Graſſe, and the deſtruction of the Spaniſh floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France, and Spain, the policy of ſheathing the ſword, and ſtopping the effuſion of human blood. Each nation found on a review of paſt events, that though their loſſes were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increaſed her national debt one hundred millions of pounds ſterling, and waſted the lives of at leaſt 50,000 of her ſubjects. To add to her mortification ſhe had brought all this on herſelf, by purſuing an object, the attainment of which ſeemed to be daily leſs probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were very problematical. While Great Britain, France, and Spain, were ſucceſſively brought to think favourably of peace, the United States of America had the conſolation of a public acknowledgement of their independence, by a ſecond power of Europe. This was effected in a great meaſure by the addreſs of John Adams. On the capture of Henry Laurens, he had been commiſſioned to be the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of Congreſs to the States General of the United Provinces, and was alſo empowered to negociate a loan of money among the Hollanders. Soon after his arrival he preſented to their High Mightineſſes a memorial, in which he informed them that the United States of America had thought fit to ſend him a commiſſion with full power and inſtructions, to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and

Jan. 1, 1781.

April 19, 1781.

that

that they had appointed him to be their Minifter Plenipotentiary to refide near them. Similar information was at the fame time communicated, to the Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange.

About a year after the prefentation of this memorial, it was refolved, "that the faid Mr. Adams was agreeable to their High Mightineffes, and that he fhould be acknowledged in quality of Minifter Plenipotentiary." Before this was obtained much pains had been taken and much ingenuity had been exerted, to convince the rulers and people of the States General, that they had an intereft in connecting themfelves with the United States. Thefe reprefentations, together with fome recent fucceffes in their contefts on the fea with Great Britain, and their evident commercial intereft, encouraged them to venture on being the fecond power of Europe to acknowledge American independence.

Mr. Adams having gained this point, proceeded on the negociation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was in a few months concluded to the reciprocal fatisfaction of both parties. The fame fuccefs which attended Mr. Adams in thefe negociations, continued to follow him in obtaining a loan of money, which was a moft feafonable fupply to his almoft exhaufted country.

Mr. Jay had for nearly three years paft exerted equal abilities and equal induftry with Mr. Adams, in endeavouring to negociate a treaty between the United States and his moft Catholic Majefty, but his exertions were not crowned with equal fuccefs.

To gain the friendfhip of the Spaniards, Congrefs paffed fundry refolutions, favouring the wifhes of his moft Catholic Majefty to re-annex the two Floridas to his dominions. Mr. Jay was inftructed to contend for the right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Miffiffippi, and if an exprefs acknowledgement of it could not be obtained, he was reftrained from acceding to any ftipulation by which it fhould be relinquifhed. But in February 1781, when Lord Cornwallis was making rapid progrefs in overrunning the fouthern States, and when

when the mutiny of the Pennſylvania line and other unfavourable circumſtances depreſſed the ſpirits of the Americans, Congreſs, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his inſtructions, ſo far as they inſiſt on the free navigation of that part of the river Miſſiſſippi, which lies below the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude, and on a free port or ports below the ſame; provided ſuch ceſſion ſhould be unalterably inſiſted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the ſaid river above the ſaid degree of north latitude ſhould be acknowledged and guarantied by his Catholic Majeſty, in common with his own ſubjects.

Theſe propoſitions were made to the miniſters of his moſt Catholic Majeſty, but not accepted. Mr. Jay in his own name informed them, "That if the acceptance of this offer ſhould, together with the propoſed alliance, be poſtponed to a general peace, the United States would ceaſe to conſider themſelves bound by any propoſitions or offers he might then make in their behalf."

Spain having delayed to accept of theſe terms, which originated more in neceſſity than in policy, till the criſis of American independence was paſt, Congreſs, apprehenſive that their offered relinquiſhment of the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi ſhould at that late hour be accepted, inſtructed their miniſter "To forbear making any overtures to the court of Spain, or entering into any ſtipulations, in conſequence of any which he had previouſly made." The miniſters of his moſt Catholic Majeſty, from indeciſion and tardineſs of deliberation, let ſlip an opportunity of gaining a favourite point, which from the increaſing numbers of the weſtern ſettlements of the United States ſeems to be removed at a daily increaſing diſtance. Humiliating offers, made and rejected in the hour of diſtreſs, will not readily be renewed in the day of proſperity.

It was expected not only by the ſanguine Americans, but by many in England, that the capture of Lord Cornwallis would inſtantly diſpoſe the nation to peace; but whatever might have been the wiſh or the intereſt of the

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people, the American war was too much the favourite of miniſtry to be relinquiſhed without a ſtruggle for its continuance.

Juſt after intelligence arrived of the capitulation of York-Town, the King of Great Britain, in his ſpeech to Parliament, declared, " That he ſhould not anſwer the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free people, if he conſented to ſacrifice either to his own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of the country muſt for ever depend." The determined language of this ſpeech, pointing to the continuance of the American war, was echoed back by a majority of both Lords and Commons.

In a few days after, it was moved in the Houſe of Commons that a reſolution ſhould be adopted, declaring it to be their opinion, " That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual and injurious to the true intereſts of Great Britain." Though the debate on this ſubject was continued till two o'clock in the morning, and though the oppoſition received additional ſtrength, yet the queſtion was not carried. The ſame ground of argument was ſoon gone over again, and the American war underwent, for the fourth time ſince the beginning of the ſeſſion, a full diſcuſſion; but no reſolution, diſapproving its farther proſecution, could yet obtain the aſſent of a majority of the members. The advocates for peace becoming daily more numerous, it was moved by Gen. Conway, " That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to give directions to his miniſters not to purſue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his Majeſty's revolted Colonies by force to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America." This brought forth a repetition of the former arguments on the ſubject, and engaged the attention of the Houſe till two o'clock in the morning. On a diviſion, the motion for the addreſs was loſt by a ſingle vote. In the courſe of theſe debates, while the minority were gaining ground, the miniſtry were giving up

up one point after another. They at firſt conſented that the war ſhould not be carried on to the ſame extent as formerly---then, that there ſhould be no internal continental war---next, that there ſhould be no other war than what was neceſſary for the defence of the poſts already in their poſſeſſion---and laſt of all, none but againſt the French in America.

The miniſtry as well as the nation began to be ſenſible of the impolicy of continental operations, but hoped that they might gain their point by proſecuting hoſtilities at ſea. Every oppoſition was therefore made by them againſt the total dereliction of a war, on the ſucceſs of which they had ſo repeatedly pledged themſelves, and on the continuance of which they held their places. General Conway in five days after, brought forward another motion expreſſed in different words, but to the ſame effect with that which he had loſt by a ſingle vote. This cauſed a long debate which laſted till two o'clock in the morning. It was then moved to adjourn the debate till the 13th of March. There appeared for the adjournment 215, and againſt it 234.

The original motion, and addreſs to the King formed upon the reſolution, were then carried without a diviſion, and the addreſs was ordered to be preſented by the whole Houſe.

To this his Majeſty anſwered, "that in purſuance of their advice, he would take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him the moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony, between Great Britain and the revolted Colonies." The thanks of the Houſe were voted for this anſwer. But the guarded language thereof, not inconſiſtent with farther hoſtilities againſt America, together with other ſuſpicious circumſtances, induced General Conway to move another reſolution, expreſſed in the moſt deciſive language. This was to the following effect: "That the Houſe would conſider as enemies to his Majeſty and the country, all thoſe who ſhould adviſe or by any means attempt the further proſecution of offenſive war, on the continent of North-America, for the purpoſe of reducing the Colonies to obedience by force." This motion,

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after a feeble oppoſition was carried without a diviſion, and put a period to all that chicanery by which miniſters meant to diſtinguiſh between a proſecution of offenſive war in North-America, and a total dereliction of it. This reſolution and the preceding addreſs, to which it had reference, may be conſidered as the cloſing ſcene of the American war. As it was made a Parliamentary war, by an addreſs from Parliament for its proſecution in February 1775, it now was no longer ſo, by an addreſs from the moſt numerous Houſe of the ſame Parliament in February 1782, for its diſcontinuance. A change of miniſtry was the conſequence of this total change of that political ſyſtem which, for ſeven years, had directed the affairs of Great Britain. A new adminiſtration was formed under the auſpices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and was compoſed of characters who oppoſed the American war. It has been ſaid that the new miniſtry ſtipulated with the court before they entered into office, that there ſhould be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgement of their independence ſhould not be a bar to the attainment of it. Soon after the Marquis of Rockingham, on whom Great Britain relied with a well-placed confidence for extrication from ſurrounding embarraſſments, departed this life, and his much-lamented death for ſome time obſcured the agreeable proſpects which had lately begun to dawn on the nation. On the deceaſe of the noble Marquis, Earl Shelburne was appointed his ſucceſſor. To remove conſtitutional impediments to negociate with the late Britiſh colonies, an act of Parliament was paſſed, granting to the crown powers for negociating or concluding a general or particular peace or truce with the whole, or with any part of the Colonies, and for ſetting aſide all former laws, whoſe operation was in contravention to that purpoſe.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was lately appointed to the command of the royal army in North-America, was inſtructed to uſe his endeavours for carrying into effect the wiſhes of Great Britain, for an accommodation with the Americans. He therefore diſpatched a letter to General Waſhington, informing him of the late proceedings of

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Parliament, and of the diſpoſitions ſo favourable to America, which were prevalent in Great Britain, and at the ſame time ſolicited a paſſport for his ſecretary, Mr. Morgan, to pay a viſit to Congreſs. His requeſt was refuſed. The application for it, with its concomitant circumſtances, were conſidered as introductory to a ſcheme for opening negociations with Congreſs or the States without the concurrence of their allies. This cauſed no ſmall alarm, and gave riſe to ſundry reſolutions, by which ſeveral States declared, that a propoſition from the enemy to all or any of the United States for peace or truce, ſeparate from their allies, was inadmiſſible. Congreſs not long after reſolved, "that they would not enter into the diſcuſſion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and as a proof of this, they recommended to the ſeveral States to paſs laws, that no ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty coming directly or indirectly from any part of the Britiſh dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war." This deciſive conduct extinguiſhed all hopes that Great Britain might have entertained, of making a ſeparate peace with America. Two of the firſt ſovereigns of Europe, the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and the Emperor of Germany, were the mediators in accompliſhing the great work of peace. Such was the ſtate of the contending parties, that the interceſſion of powerful mediators was no longer neceſſary. The diſpoſition of Great Britain to recognize the independence of the United States had removed the principal difficulty, which had hitherto obſtructed a general pacification. It would be curious to trace the ſucceſſive ſteps by which the nation was brought to this meaſure, ſo irreconcileable to their former declarations. Various auxiliary cauſes might be called in to account for this great change of the public mind of Great Britain, but the ſum of the whole muſt be reſolved into this ſimple propoſition, "That it was unavoidable." A ſtate of perpetual war was inconſiſtent with the intereſt of a commercial nation: even the longer continuance of hoſtilities was forbidden by every principle of wiſe policy.

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The avowed object of the alliance between France and America, and the steady adherence of both parties to enter into no negociations without the concurrence of each other, reduced Great Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negociating under the idea of recognizing American independence. This great change of the public mind in Great Britain, favourable to American independence, took place between November 1781, and March 1782. In that interval Mr. Laurens was released from his confinement in the Tower. Before and after his release, he had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to persons in power, that from his personal knowledge of the sentiments of Congress, and of their instructions to their ministers, every hope of peace, without the acknowledgement of independence, was illusory. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the conquest of the American States was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of their independence was an indispensable preliminary to the termination of a war, from the continuance of which, neither profit nor honour was to be acquired. The pride of Great Britain for a long time resisted, but that usurping passion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feelings of the great body of the people were no longer to be controuled by the honour of ministers, or romantic ideas of national dignity. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the sentiments of the inhabitants of Great Britain, not less remarkable than what in the beginning of it, took place among the citizens of America.

Independence, which was neither thought of nor wished for by the latter in the year 1774 and 1775, became in the year 1776 their favourite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war had been with few exceptions the object of abhorrence to the British nation, became in the year 1782, a popular measure in Great Britain, as the means of putting an end to a ruinous war.

The commissioners for negociating peace on the part of the United States were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald. Provisional

visional articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States were agreed upon by these gentlemen, which were to be inserted in a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place. By these the independence of the States was acknowledged in its fullest extent. Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi, in which was the residence of upwards of twenty nations of Indians, and particularly of the five nations, who had long been the friends and allies of Great Britain. An unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and on other places where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise confirmed to the Americans. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists were sacrificed, nothing farther than a simple recommendation for restitution being stipulated in their favour. Five days after these provisional articles were signed, the British Parliament met. They underwent a severe Parliamentary discussion. It was said by the opposition that independence being recognized, every thing ceded by Great Britain required an equivalent; but that while they gave up the many posts they held in the United States, an immense extent of north and western territory, a participation in the fur trade, and in the fisheries, nothing was stipulated in return.

It must be acknowledged, that the ministers of Congress procured for their countrymen better terms than they had reason to expect; but from a combination of circumstances, it was scarcely possible to end the war without similar concessions on the part of Great Britain. By the alliance between France and America, there could be no peace without independence. That once granted, most of the other articles followed of course. It is true, the boundaries agreed upon, were more extensive than the States, when colonies, had claimed, yet the surplus ceded could have been of little or no use to Great Britain, and might, if retained, have given an occasion to a future war.

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The cafe of the loyalifts was undoubtedly a hard one, but unavoidable, from the complex conftitution of the United States. The American minifters engaged as far as they were authorifed, and Congrefs did all that they conftitutionally could; but this was no more than fimply to recommend their cafe to the feveral States, for the purpofe of making them reftitution. To have infifted on more, under fuch circumftances, would have been equivalent to faying that there fhould be no peace. It is true, much more was expected from the recommendations of Congrefs, than refulted from them: but this was not the confequence of deception, but of mifunderftanding the principles of the confederation. In conformity to the letter and fpirit of the treaty, Congrefs urged in ftrong terms the propriety of making reftitution to the loyalifts, but to procure it was beyond their power. In the animation produced by the war, when the Americans conceived their liberties to be in danger, and that their only fafety confifted in obeying their fœderal head, they yielded a more unreferved obedience to the recommendations of Congrefs, than is ufually paid to the decrees of the moft arbitrary fovereigns. But the cafe was widely different, when at the clofe of the war a meafure was recommended in direct oppofition to their prejudices. It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the afperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with royal government, than to their Britifh enemies. It is certain that the former had been moft active in predatory excurfions, and moft forward in fcenes of blood and murder. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to do mifchief, which would never have occurred to European foldiers. Many powerful paffions of human nature operated againft making reftitution to men, who were thus confidered as the authors of fo great a fhare of the general diftrefs.

There was doubtlefs among the loyalifts many worthy characters---friends to peace and lovers of juftice: To fuch, reftitution was undoubtedlv due, and to many fuch

ſuch it was made; but it is one of the many calamities incident to war, that the innocent, from the impoſſibility of diſcrimination, are often involved in the ſame diſtreſs with the guilty. The return of the loyaliſts to their former places of reſidence was as much diſreliſhed by the Whig citizens of America, as the propoſal for re-imburſing their confiſcated property. In ſundry places committees were formed, which in an arbitrary manner oppoſed their peaceable reſidence. The ſober and diſpaſſionate citizens exerted themſelves in checking theſe irregular meaſures; but ſuch was the violence of party ſpirit, and ſo relaxed were the ſinews of government, that in oppoſition to legal authority, and the private interference of the judicious and moderate, many indecent outrages were committed on the perſons and property of the returning loyaliſts. Nor were theſe all the ſufferings of thoſe Americans who had attached themſelves to the royal cauſe. Being compelled to depart their native country, many of them were obliged to take up their abodes in the inhoſpitable wilds of Nova Scotia, or on the barren ſhores of the Bahama Iſlands. Parliamentary relief was extended to them, but this was obtained with difficulty, and diſtributed with a partial hand. Some who invented plauſible tales of loyalty and diſtreſs received much more than they ever poſſeſſed; but others, leſs artful, were not half re-imburſed for their actual loſſes. The bulk of the ſufferings, ſubſequent to the peace among the Americans, fell to the ſhare of the merchants, and others who owed money in England. From the operations of the war remittances were impoſſible. In the mean time payments were made in America by a depreciating paper, under the ſanction of a law which made it a legal tender. The unhappy perſons, who in this manner ſuffered payment, could not apply it to the extinguiſhment of their foreign debts. If they retained in their hands the paper which was paid to them, it daily decreaſed in value: if they inveſted it in public ſecurities, from the deficiency of funds, their ſituation was no better: if they purchaſed land, ſuch was the ſuperabundance of territory ceded by the peace, that it fell greatly

in value. Under all theſe embarraſſments, the American debtor was by treaty bound to make payments in ſpecie of all his *bona fide* debts, due in Great Britain. The Britiſh merchant was materially injured by being kept for many years out of his capital, and the American was often ruined by being ultimately made to pay in ſpecie what he received in paper. Enough was ſuffered on both ſides to make the inhabitants, as well in Great Britain as in America, deprecate war as one of the greateſt evils incident to humanity.

APPENDIX. No. IV.

The State of parties: the advantages and diſadvantages of the Revolution: its influence on the minds and morals of the Citizens.

PREVIOUS to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the Britiſh Colonies were univerſally loyal. That three millions of ſuch ſubjects ſhould break through all former attachments, and unanimouſly adopt new ones, could not reaſonably be expected. The revolution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every period of the war. Country, religion, local policy, as well as private views, operated in diſpoſing the inhabitants to take different ſides. The New-England provinces being moſtly ſettled by one ſort of people, were nearly of one ſentiment. The influence of placemen in Boſton, together with the connections which they had formed by marriages, had attached ſundry influential characters in that capital to the Britiſh intereſt, but theſe were but as the duſt in the balance, when compared with the numerous independent Whig yeomanry of the country. The ſame and other cauſes produced a large number in New-York, who were attached to royal government. That city had long been head quarters of the Britiſh army in America, and many intermarriages, and other connections, had been made between Britiſh officers, and ſome of their firſt families. The practice of entailing eſtates had prevailed in New-

New-York to a much greater extent, than in any of the other provinces. The governors thereof had long been in the habit of indulging their favourites with extravagant grants of land. This had introduced the diſtinction of landlord and tenant. There was therefore in New-York an ariſtocratic party, reſpectable for numbers, wealth, and influence, which had much to fear from independence. The city was alſo divided into parties by the influence of two ancient and numerous families, the Livingſtones and Delanceys. Theſe having been long accuſtomed to oppoſe each other at elections, could rarely be brought to unite in any political meaſures. In this controverſy, one almoſt univerſally took part with America, the other with Great Britain.

The Iriſh in America, with a few exceptions, were attached to independence. They had fled from oppreſſion in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it ſhould follow them. Their national prepoſſeſſions in favour of liberty were ſtrengthened by their religious opinions. They were Preſbyterians, and people of that denomination, for reaſons hereafter to be explained, were moſtly Whigs. The Scotch on the other hand, though they had formerly ſacrificed much to liberty in their own country, were generally diſpoſed to ſupport the claims of Great Britain. Their nation for ſome years paſt had experienced a large proportion of royal favour. A very abſurd aſſociation was made by many, between the cauſe of John Wilkes and the cauſe of America. The former had rendered himſelf ſo univerſally odious to the Scotch, that many of them were prejudiced againſt a cauſe, which was ſo ridiculouſly, but generally aſſociated, with that of a man who had groſsly inſulted their whole nation. The illiberal reflections caſt by ſome Americans on the whole body of the Scotch, as favourers of arbitrary power, reſtrained high-ſpirited individuals of that nation from joining a people who ſuſpected their love of liberty. Such of them as adhered to the cauſe of independence, were ſteady in their attachment. The army and the Congreſs ranked among their beſt officers, and moſt valuable members, ſome individuals of that nation.

Such of the Germans in America as poſſeſſed the means of information, were generally determined Whigs; but many of them were too little informed to be able to chuſe their ſide on proper ground. They, eſpecially ſuch of them as reſided in the interior country, were, from their not underſtanding the Engliſh language, far behind moſt of the other inhabitants in a knowledge of the merits of the diſpute. Their diſaffection was rather paſſive than active: a conſiderable part of it aroſe from principles of religion, for ſome of their ſects deny the lawfulneſs of war. No people have proſpered more in America than the Germans. None have ſurpaſſed, and but few have equalled them in induſtry and other republican virtues.

The great body of Tories in the ſouthern States was among the ſettlers on their weſtern frontier: many of theſe were diſorderly perſons, who had fled from the old ſettlements to avoid the reſtraints of civil government. Their numbers were increaſed by a ſet of men called regulators. The expence and difficulty of obtaining the deciſion of courts againſt horſe-thieves and other criminals, had induced ſundry perſons, about the year 1770, to take the execution of the laws into their own hands, in ſome of the remote ſettlements, both of North and South-Carolina. In puniſhing crimes, forms as well as ſubſtance muſt be regarded. From not attending to the former, ſome of theſe regulators, though perhaps aiming at nothing but what they thought right. committed many offences both againſt law and juſtice. By their violent proceedings regular government was proſtrated: they drew on them the vengeance of royal governors: the regulators having ſuffered from their hands, were ſlow to oppoſe an eſtabliſhed government, whoſe power to puniſh they had recently experienced. Apprehending that the meaſures of Congreſs were like their own regulating ſchemes, and fearing that they would terminate in the ſame diſagreeable conſequences, they and their adherents were generally oppoſed to the revolution.

Religion alſo divided the inhabitants of America: the Preſbyterians and Independents were almoſt univerſally attached

tached to the meaſures of Congreſs. Their religious ſocieties are governed on the republican plan.

From independence they had much to hope, but from Great Britain, if finally ſucceſsful, they had reaſon to fear the eſtabliſhment of a church hierarchy. Moſt of the epiſcopal miniſters of the northern provinces were penſioners on the bounty of the Britiſh government. The greateſt part of their clergy, and many of their laity in theſe provinces, were therefore diſpoſed to ſupport a connection with Great Britain. The epiſcopal clergy in the ſouthern provinces being under no ſuch bias, were often among the warmeſt Whigs. Some of them foreſeeing the downfall of religious eſtabliſhments from the ſucceſs of the Americans, were leſs active: but in general, where their church was able to ſupport itſelf, their clergy and laity zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of independence. Great pains were taken to perſuade them, that thoſe who had been called diſſenters, were aiming to aboliſh the epiſcopal eſtabliſhment to make way for their own exaltation; but the good ſenſe of the people reſtrained them from giving any credit to the unfounded ſuggeſtion. Religious controverſy was happily kept out of view: the well-informed of all denominations were convinced, that the conteſt was for their civil rights, and therefore did not ſuffer any other conſiderations to interfere, or diſturb their union.

The Quakers, with a few exceptions, were averſe to independence. In Pennſylvania they were numerous, and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patroniſed by any body of men, who foreſee that a diminution of their own importance is likely to reſult from the change. Quakers from religious principles were averſe to war, and therefore could not be friendly to a revolution, which could only be effected by the ſword. Several individuals ſeparated from them on account of their principles, and following the impulſe of their inclinations, joined their countrymen in arms. The ſervices America received from two of their ſociety, Gen. Greene and Mifflin, made ſome amends for the embar-

raſſments

raſſments which the diſaffection of the great body of their people occaſioned to the exertions of the active friends of independence.

The age and temperament of individuals had often an influence in fixing their political character. Old men were ſeldom warm Whigs: they could not reliſh the great changes which were daily taking place; attached to ancient forms and habits, they could not readily accommodate themſelves to new ſyſtems. Few of the very rich were active in forwarding the revolution. This was remarkably the caſe in the eaſtern and middle States; but the reverſe took place in the ſouthern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America more determined Whigs than the opulent ſlaveholders in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The active and ſpirited part of the community, who felt themſelves poſſeſſed of talents that would raiſe them to eminence in a free government, longed for the eſtabliſhment of independent conſtitutions: but thoſe who were in poſſeſſion or expectation of royal favour, or of promotion from Great Britain, wiſhed that the connection between the Parent State and the Colonies might be preſerved. The young, the ardent, the ambitious, and the enterpriſing, were moſtly Whigs; but the phlegmatic, the timid, the intereſted, and thoſe who wanted deciſion were, in general, favourers of Great Britain, or at leaſt only the lukewarm, inactive friends of independence. The Whigs received a great re-inforcement from the operation of continental money. In the year 1775, 1776, and in the firſt months of 1777, while the bills of Congreſs were in good credit, the effects of them were the ſame, as if a foreign power had made the United States a preſent of twenty million of ſilver dollars. The circulation of ſo large a ſum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increaſed the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends to the revolution . on the ſame principles, the American war was patroniſed in England, by the many contractors and agents for tranſporting and ſupplying the Britiſh army. In both caſes the inconveniencies of interrupted commerce were

were leſſened by the employment which war and a domeſtic circulation of money ſubſtituted in its room. The convulſions of war afforded excellent ſhelter for deſperate debtors. The ſpirit of the times revolted againſt dragging to jails for debt, men who were active and zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, thoſe who owed more than they were worth, by going within the Britiſh lines, and giving themſelves the merit of ſuffering on the ſcore of loyalty, not only put their creditors to defiance, but ſometimes obtained promotion, or other ſpecial marks of royal favour.

The American revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices; but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occaſion for the diſplay of abilities which, but for that event, would have been loſt to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a maſs of huſbandmen, merchants, mechanics, and fiſhermen; but the neceſſities of the country gave a ſpring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and ſet them on thinking, ſpeaking, and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accuſtomed. The difference between nations is not ſo much owing to nature, as to education and circumſtances. While the Americans were guided by the leading ſtrings of the Mother Country, they had no ſcope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were eſtabliſhed and executed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776, the country, being ſuddenly thrown into a ſituation that needed the abilities of all its ſons, theſe generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they ſeverally purſued their objects with ardour, a vaſt expanſion of the human mind ſpeedily followed. This diſplayed itſelf in a variety of ways. It was found that the talents for great ſtations did not differ in kind, but only in degree, from thoſe which were neceſſary for the proper diſcharge of the ordinary buſineſs of civil ſociety. In the buſtle that was occaſioned by the war, few inſtances could be produced of any perſons who made a figure, or who rendered eſſential ſervices, but from among thoſe who had given ſpecimens of ſimilar talents

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in their refpective profeffions. Thofe who, from indolence or diffipation, had been of little fervice to the community in time of peace, were found equally unfervice-able in war. A few young men were exceptions to this general rule. Some of thefe, who had indulged in youthful follies, broke off from their vicious courfes, and on the preffing call of their country became ufeful fervants of the public: but the great bulk of thofe, who were the active inftruments of carrying on the revolution, were felf-made, induftrious men. Thefe who by their own exertions had eftablifhed or laid a foundation for eftablifhing perfonal independence, were moft generally trufted, and moft fuccefsfully employed in eftablifhing that of their country. In thefe times of action, claffical education was found of lefs fervice than good natural parts, guided by common fenfe and found judgement.

Several names could be mentioned of individuals who, without the knowledge of any other language than their mother tongue, wrote not only accurately, but elegantly on public bufinefs. It feemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men whofe minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whofe abilities were improved by daily exercife, and fharpened with a laudable ambition to ferve their diftreffed country, fpoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far furpaffing all expectations which could be reafonably founded on their previous acquirements.

The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and bufinefs had brought the inhabitants of their fea-ports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow-citizens. A continental army, and a Congrefs compofed of men from all the States, by freely mixing together, were affimilated into one mafs. Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, diffeminated principles of union among them. Local prejudices abated. By frequent collifion afperities were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the eftablifhment of a nation out of difcordant materials. Intermarriages between men and women of different States

were

were much more common than before the war, and became an additional cement to the union. Unreaſonable jealouſies had exiſted between the inhabitants of the eaſtern and of the ſouthern States; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, theſe in a great meaſure ſubſided. A wiſer policy prevailed. Men of liberal minds led the way in diſcouraging local diſtinctions, and the great body of the people, as ſoon as reaſon got the better of prejudice, found that their beſt intereſts would be moſt effectually promoted by ſuch practices and ſentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various ſects before the American war: this was kept up by partial eſtabliſhments, and by a dread that the church of England, through the power of the mother country, would be made to triumph over all other denominations. Theſe apprehenſions were done away by the revolution. The different ſects, having nothing to fear from each other, diſmiſſed all religious controverſy. A propoſal for introducing biſhops into America before the war had kindled a flame among the diſſenters; but the revolution was no ſooner accompliſhed, than a ſcheme for that purpoſe was perfected, with the conſent and approbation of all thoſe ſects who had previouſly oppoſed it. Pulpits which had formerly been ſhut to worthy men, becauſe their heads had not been conſecrated by the impoſition of the hands of a Biſhop or of a Preſbytery, have ſince the eſtabliſhment of independence been reciprocally opened to each other, whenſoever the public convenience required it. The world will ſoon ſee the reſult of an experiment in politics, and be able to determine whether the happineſs of ſociety is increaſed by religious eſtabliſhments, or diminiſhed by the want of them.

Though ſchools and colleges were generally ſhut up during the war, yet many of the arts and ſciences were promoted by it. The geography of the United States before the revolution was but little known: but the marches of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to many geographical inquiries and diſcoveries, which otherwiſe would not have been made. A paſſionate fondneſs for

ſtudies

ſtudies of this kind, and the growing importance of the country, excited one of its ſons, the Rev. Mr. Morſe, to travel through every State of the Union, and amaſs a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding any thing heretofore communicated to the public. The neceſſities of the States led to the ſtudy of tactics, fortification, gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffuſed a knowledge of them among a peaceable people, who would otherwiſe have had no inducement to ſtudy them.

The abilities of ingenious men were directed to make farther improvements in the art of deſtroying an enemy. Among theſe, David Buſhnell, of Connecticut, invented a machine for ſubmarine navigation, which was found to anſwer the purpoſe of rowing horizontally, at any given depth under water, and of riſing or ſinking at pleaſure. To this was attached a magazine of powder, and the whole was contrived in ſuch a manner, as to make it practicable to blow up veſſels by machinery under them. Mr. Buſhnell alſo contrived ſundry other curious machines for the annoyance of Britiſh ſhipping; but from accident they only ſucceeded in part. He deſtroyed one veſſel in charge of Commodore Symonds, and a ſecond one near the ſhore of Long-Iſland.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hoſpitals and other aids, the medical men of America had few opportunities of perfecting themſelves in this art, the thorough knowledge of which can only be acquired by practice and obſervation. The melancholy events of battles gave the American ſtudents an opportunity of ſeeing, and learning more in one day, than they could have acquired in years of peace. It was in the hoſpitals of the United States that Dr. Ruſh firſt diſcovered the method of curing the lock jaw by bark and wine, added to other invigorating remedies, which has ſince been adopted with ſucceſs in Europe, as well as in the United States.

The ſcience of government has been more generally diffuſed among the Americans by means of the revolution. The policy of Great Britain in throwing them

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out of her protection, induced a neceſſity of eſtabliſhing independent conſtitutions. This led to reading and reaſoning on the ſubject. The many errors that were at firſt committed by unexperienced ſtateſmen, have been a practical comment on the folly of unbalanced conſtitutions, and injudicious laws. The diſcuſſions concerning the new conſtitution gave birth to much reaſoning on the ſubject of government and particularly to a ſeries of letters ſigned Publius, but really the work of Alexander Hamilton, in which much political knowledge and wiſdom were diſplayed, and which will long remain a monument of the ſtrength and acuteneſs of the human underſtanding in inveſtigating truth.

When Great Britain firſt began her encroachments on the Colonies, there were few natives of America who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as ſpeakers or writers, but the controverſy between the two countries multiplied their number.

The ſtamp act, which was to have taken place in 1765. employed the pens and tongues of many of the Coloniſts, and by repeated exerciſe improved their ability to ſerve their country. The taxes impoſed in 1767, called forth the pen of John Dickenſon, who in a ſeries of letters ſigned a Pennſylvania Farmer, may be ſaid to have ſown the ſeeds of the revolution; being univerſally read by the Coloniſts, they univerſally enlightened them on the dangerous conſequences likely to reſult from their being taxed by the Parliament of Great Britain.

In eſtabliſhing American independence, the pen and the preſs had merit equal to that of the ſword. As the war was the people's war, and was carried on without funds, the exertions of the army would have been inſufficient to effect the revolution, unleſs the great body of the people had been prepared for it, and alſo kept in a conſtant diſpoſition to oppoſe Great Britain. To rouſe and unite the inhabitants, and to perſuade them to patience for ſeveral years, under preſent ſufferings, with the hope of obtaining remote advantages for their poſterity, was a work of difficulty: this was effected in a great meaſure by the tongues and pens of the well-informed

citizens.

citizens, and on it depended the ſucceſs of military operations.

To enumerate the names of all thoſe who were ſucceſsful labourers in this arduous buſineſs, is impoſſible. The following liſt contains, in nearly alphabetical order, the names of the moſt diſtinguiſhed writers in favour of the rights of America.

John Adams and Samuel Adams, of Boſton; Bland, of Virginia; John Dickinſon, of Pennſylvania; Daniel Dulany, of Annapolis; William Henry Drayton, of South-Carolina; Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia; John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, of New-York; Thomas Jefferſon and Arthur Lee, of Virginia; Jonathan Hyman, of Connecticut; Governor Livingſton, of New-Jerſey; Dr. Mayhew and James Otis, of Boſton; Thomas Paine, Dr. Ruſh, Charles Thompſon, and James Wilſon, of Philadelphia; William Tennant, of South-Carolina: Joſiah Quincy and Dr. Warren, of Boſton. Theſe and many others laboured in enlightening their countrymen on the ſubject of their political intereſts, and in animating them to a proper line of conduct in defence of their liberties. To theſe individuals may be added, the great body of the clergy, eſpecially in New-England. The printers of newſpapers had alſo much merit in the ſame way; particularly Eedes and Gill, of Boſton; Holt, of New-York; Bradford, of Philadelphia; and Timothy, of South-Carolina.

The early attention which had been paid to literature in New-England was alſo eminently conducive to the ſucceſs of the Americans in reſiſting Great Britain. The univerſity of Cambridge was founded as early as 1636, and Yale college in 1700. It has been computed, that in the year the Boſton port act was paſſed, there were in the four eaſtern Colonies, upwards of two thouſand graduates of their colleges diſperſed through their ſeveral towns, who by their knowledge and abilities were able to influence and direct the great body of the people to a proper line of conduct, for oppoſing the encroachments of Great Britain on their liberties. The colleges to the ſouthward of New-England, except that of William and Mary in Virginia, were but

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of modern date; but they had been of a ſtanding ſufficiently long to have trained for public ſervice a conſiderable number of the youth of the country. The college of New-Jerſey, which was incorporated about 28 years before the revolution, had in that time educated upwards of 300 perſons, who, with a few exceptions, were active and uſeful friends of independence. From the influence which knowledge had in ſecuring and preſerving the liberties of America, the preſent generation may trace the wiſe policy of their fathers, in erecting ſchools and colleges. They may alſo learn that it is their duty to found more, and ſupport all ſuch inſtitutions. Without the advantages derived from theſe lights of this new world, the United States would probably have fallen in their unequal conteſt with Great Britain. Union, which was eſſential to the ſucceſs of their reſiſtance, could ſcarcely have taken place in the meaſures adopted by an ignorant multitude; much leſs could wiſdom in council, unity in ſyſtem, or perſeverance in the proſecution of a long and ſelf-denying war, be expected from an uninformed people. It is a well known fact, that perſons unfriendly to the revolution were always moſt numerous in thoſe parts of the United States, which had either never been illuminated, or but faintly warmed by the rays of ſcience. The uninformed and the miſinformed conſtituted a great proportion of thoſe Americans who preferred the leading-ſtrings of the Parent State, though encroaching on their liberties, to a government of their own countrymen and fellow citizens.

As literature had in the firſt inſtance favoured the revolution, ſo in its turn, the revolution promoted literature. The ſtudy of eloquence and of the belles lettres was more ſucceſsfully proſecuted in America, after the diſputes between Great Britain and her Colonies began to be ſerious, than ever it had been before. The various orations, addreſſes, letters, diſſertations, and other literary performances which the war made neceſſary, called forth abilities where they were, and excited the riſing generation to ſtudy arts, which brought with them their own reward. Many incidents afforded materials for the favourites of the

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mufes to difplay their talents. Even burlefquing royal proclamations, by parodies and doggerel poetry, had great effects on the minds of the people. A celebrated hifto-rian has remarked, that the fong of Lillibullero forwarded the revolution of 1688 in England. It may be truly af-firmed, that fimilar productions produced fimilar effects in America. Francis Hopkinfon rendered effential fer-vice to his country by turning the artillery of wit and ridicule on the enemy. Philip Freneau laboured fuccefs-fully in the fame way. Royal proclamations and other productions which iffued from royal printing preffes were, by the help of a warm imagination, arrayed in fuch dreffes as rendered them truly ridiculous. Trumbull, with a vein of original Hudibraftic humour, diverted his country-men fo much with the follies of their enemies, that for a time they forgot the calamities of war. Humphries twined the literary with the military laurel, by fuperad-ing the fame of an elegant poet, to that of an accom-plifhed officer. Barlow increafed the fame of his country and of the diftinguifhed actors in the revolution, by the bold defign of an epic poem ably executed, on the idea that Columbus forefaw in vifion the great fcenes that were to be tranfacted on the theatre of that new world which he had difcovered. Dwight ftruck out in the fame line, and at an early period of life finifhed an elegant work, entitled the conqueft of Canaan, on a plan which has rarely been attempted. The principles of their mo-ther tongue were firft unfolded to the Americans fince the revolution by their countryman Webfter. Purfuing an unbeaten track, he has made difcoveries in the genius and conftruction of the Englifh language, which had ef-caped the refearches of preceding philologifts. Thefe, and a group of other literary characters, have been brought into view by the revolution. It is remarkable, that of thefe, Connecticut has produced an unufual proportion. In that truly republican State, every thing confpires to adorn hu-man nature with its higheft honours.

From the later periods of the revolution till the pre-fent time, fchools, colleges, focieties, and inftitutions for promoting literature, arts, manufactures, agriculture, and

for extending human happineſs, have been increaſed far beyond any thing that ever took place before the declaration of independence. Every State in the union has done more or leſs in this way, but Pennſylvania has done the moſt. The following inſtitutions have been very lately founded in that State, and moſt of them in the time of the war or ſince the peace. An univerſity in the city of Philadelphia; a college of phyſicians in the ſame place; Dickinſon college at Carliſle; Franklin college at Lancaſter; the Proteſtant Epiſcopal academy in Philadelphia; academies at York-Town, at German-Town, at Pittſburgh, and Waſhington; and an academy in Philadelphia for young ladies; ſocieties for promoting political inquiries; for the medical relief of the poor, under the title of the Philadelphia Diſpenſary; for promoting the abolition of ſlavery, and the relief of free negroes, unlawfully held in bondage; for propagating the goſpel among the Indians, under the direction of the United Brethren; for the encouragement of manufactures and the uſeful arts; for alleviating the miſeries of priſons. Such have been ſome of the beneficial effects which have reſulted from that expanſion of the human mind, which has been produced by the revolution; but theſe have not been without alloy.

To overſet an eſtabliſhed government, unhinges many of thoſe principles which bind individuals to each other. A long time, and much prudence, will be neceſſary to re-produce a ſpirit of union and that reverence for government, without which ſociety is a rope of ſand. The right of the people to reſiſt their rulers, when invading their liberties, forms the corner ſtone of the American republics. This principle, though juſt in itſelf, is not favourable to the tranquillity of preſent eſtabliſhments. The maxims and meaſures, which in the years 1774 and 1775 were ſucceſsfully inculcated and adopted by American patriots, for overſetting the eſtabliſhed government, will anſwer a ſimilar purpoſe, when recurrence is had to them by factious demagogues for diſturbing the freeſt governments that were ever deviſed.

War never fails to injure the morals of the people engaged in it. The American war, in particular, had an unhappy influence of this kind. Being begun without funds or regular eſtabliſhments, it could not be carried on without violating private rights; and in its progreſs, it involved a neceſſity for breaking ſolemn promiſes, and plighted public faith. The failure of national juſtice, which was in ſome degree unavoidable, increaſed the difficulties of performing private engagements, and weakened that ſenſibility to the obligations of public and private honour, which is a ſecurity for the punctual performance of contracts.

In conſequence of the war, the inſtitutions of religion have been deranged, the public worſhip of the Deity ſuſpended, and a great number of the inhabitants deprived of the ordinary means of obtaining that religious knowledge, which tames the fierceneſs, and ſoftens the rudeneſs, of human paſſions and manners. Many of the temples dedicated to the ſervice of the Moſt High, were deſtroyed, and theſe, from a deficiency of ability and inclination, are not yet rebuilt. The clergy were left to ſuffer, without proper ſupport. The depreciation of the paper currency was particularly injurious to them; it reduced their ſalaries to a pittance, ſo inſufficient for their maintenance, that ſeveral of them were obliged to lay down their profeſſion, and engage in other purſuits. Public preaching, of which many of the inhabitants were thus deprived, ſeldom fails of rendering eſſential ſervice to ſociety, by civilizing the multitude and forming them to union. No claſs of citizens have contributed more to the revolution than the clergy, and none have hitherto ſuffered more in conſequence of it. From the diminution of their number, and the penury to which they have been ſubjected, civil government has loſt many of the advantages it formerly derived from the public inſtructions of that uſeful order of men.

On the whole, the literary, political, and military talents of the citizens of the United States have been improved by the revolution, but their moral character is inferior to what it formerly was. So great is the change for the worſe,

worſe, that the friends of public order were loudly called upon to exert their utmoſt abilities in extirpating the vicious principles and habits which have taken deep root during the late convulſions.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Diſcharge of the American Army; the Evacuation of New-York: the Reſignation of General Waſhington; Arrangements of Congreſs for the diſpoſing of their weſtern Territory, and paying their Debts; the Diſtreſſes of the States after the Peace; the inefficacy of the Articles of the Confederation; a grand Convention for amending the Government; the new Conſtitution; General Waſhington appointed Preſident; an Addreſs to the People of the United States.

WHILE the citizens of the United States were anticipating the bleſſings of peace, their army, which had ſuccesſfully ſtemmed the tide of Britiſh victories, was unrewarded for its ſervices. The States, which had been reſcued by their exertions from ſlavery, were in no condition to pay them their ſtipulated due. To diſmiſs officers and ſoldiers, who had ſpent the prime of their days in ſerving their country, without an equivalent for their labours, or even a ſufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard but unavoidable caſe. An attempt was made by anonymous and ſeditious publications to inflame the minds of the officers and ſoldiers, and induce them to unite in redreſſing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As ſoon as General Waſhington was informed of the nature of theſe papers, he requeſted the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper repreſentation from the ſtaff of the army, to aſſemble on an early day. He rightly judged that it would be much eaſier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than to recal fatal and haſty ſteps after they had once been taken. The period, previouſly to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate

Mar. 10 1783.

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measures. General Washington sent for one officer after another, and enlarged in private, on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When the officers were convened, the commander in chief addressed them in a speech, well calculated to calm their minds. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favour, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them "as they valued their honour—as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man who was attempting to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood." Gen. Washington then retired. The minds of those who had heard him were in such an irritable state, that nothing but their most ardent patriotism and his unbounded influence prevented the proposal of rash resolutions, which, if adopted, would have sullied the glory of seven years service. No reply whatever was made to the General's speech. The happy moment was seized, while the minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, "that no circumstance of distress or danger, should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired, that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army." Too much praise cannot be given to Gen. Washington for the patriotism and decision which marked his conduct in the whole of this serious transaction. Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from Heaven a more signal deliverance through the hands of the commander in chief.

Soon after these events, Congress completed a resolution which had been for some time pending, that the officers of their army, who preferred a sum in gross to an annuity,

annuity, ſhould be entitled to receive to the amount of five years full pay, in money or ſecurities, at ſix per cent. per annum, inſtead of the half pay for life, which had been previouſly promiſed to them.

1783.

May 26.

To avoid the inconveniencies of diſmiſſing a great number of ſoldiers in a body, furloughs were freely granted to individuals, and after their diſperſion they were not enjoined to return. By this arrangement a critical moment was got over. A great part of an unpaid army was diſbanded and diſperſed over the States, without tumult or diſorder. The privates generally betook themſelves to labour, and crowned the merit of being good ſoldiers by becoming good citizens. Several of the American officers, who had been bred mechanics, reſumed their trades. In old countries, the diſbanding a ſingle regiment, even though fully paid, has often produced ſerious conſequences, but in America, where arms had been taken up for ſelf-defence, they were peaceably laid down as ſoon as they became unneceſſary. As ſoldiers had been eaſily and ſpeedily formed in 1775, out of farmers, planters, and mechanics, with equal eaſe and expedition in the year 1783, they dropped their adventitious character, and reſumed their former occupations. About 80 of the Pennſylvania levies formed an exception to the prevailing peaceable diſpoſition of the army. Theſe, in defiance of their officers, ſet out from Lancaſter and marched to Philadelphia to ſeek a redreſs of their grievances, from the executive council of the State. The mutineers, in oppoſition to advice and entreaties, perſiſted in their march till they arrived at Philadelphia. They were joined them by ſome other troops, who were quartered in the barracks. The whole amounting to upwards of 300 men, marched with fixed bayonets and drums, to the ſtatehouſe, in which Congreſs and the ſupreme executive council of Pennſylvania held their ſeſſions. They placed guards at every door, and ſent in a written meſſage to the Preſident and Council of the State, and threatened to let looſe an enraged ſoldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their demand within twenty minutes. The ſituation of Congreſs, though they were

June 20, 1783.

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not the particular object of the ſoldiers reſentment, was far from being agreeable. After being about three hours under dureſſe they retired, but previouſly reſolved that the authority of the United States had been groſsly inſulted. Soon after they left Philadelphia, and fixed on Princeton as the place of their next meeting. General Waſhington immediately ordered a large detachment of his army, to march for Philadelphia. Previouſly to their arrival, the diſturbances were quieted without bloodſhed. Several of the mutineers were tried and condemned, two to ſuffer death, and four to receive corporal puniſhment, but they were all afterwards pardoned.

Towards the cloſe of the year, Congreſs iſſued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded, " for having diſplayed in the progreſs of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and in which the thanks of their country were given them, for their long, eminent, and faithful ſervices." Congreſs then declared it to be their pleaſure, " that ſuch part of their fœderal armies, as ſtood engaged to ſerve during the war, ſhould, from and after the third day of November next, be abſolutely diſcharged from the ſaid ſervice." On the day preceding their diſmiſſion, General Waſhington iſſued his farewel orders, in the moſt endearing language. After giving them his advice reſpecting their future conduct, and bidding them an affectionate farewel, he concluded with theſe words, " May ample juſtice be done them here, and may the choiceſt of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend thoſe who under the divine auſpices have ſecured innumerable bleſſings for others. With theſe wiſhes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from ſervice ; the curtain of ſeparation will ſoon be drawn, and the military ſcene, to him, will be cloſed for ever."

With great exertions of the ſuperintendant of finance, four months pay, in part of ſeveral years arrearages, were given to the army. This ſum, though trifling, was all the immediate recompence the States were able to make to thoſe brave men, who had conducted their country through an eight years war to peace and independence.

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The evacuation of New-York took place in about three weeks after the American army was difcharged. For a twelvemonth preceding, there had been an unreftrained communication between that city, though a Britifh garrifon, and the adjacent country. The bitternefs of war paffed away, and civilities were freely interchanged between thofe who had lately fought for opportunities to deftroy each other. General Wafhington and Governor Clinton, with their fuites, made a public entry into the city of New-York, as foon as the royal army was withdrawn. The Lieutenant-governor, and members of the council, the officers of the American army, and the citizens, followed in an elegant proceffion. It was remarked, that an unufual proportion of thofe who in 1776 had fied from New-York, were by death cut off from partaking in the general joy, which flowed in upon their fellow citizens, on returning to their ancient habitations. The eafe and affluence which they enjoyed in the days of their profperity, made the feverities of exile inconvenient to all, and fatal to many, particularly to fuch as were advanced in life. Thofe who furvived, both felt and expreffed the overflowings of joy, on finding their fufferings and fervices rewarded with the recovery of their country, the expulfion of their enemies, and the eftablifhment of their independence. In the evening there was a difplay of fireworks, which exceeded every thing of the kind before feen in the United States. They commenced by a dove's defcending with an olive branch, and fetting fire to a marron battery.

The hour now approached in which it became neceffary for General Wafhington to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long feries of common fufferings and dangers. This was done in a folemn manner. The officers having previoufly affembled for the purpofe, General Wafhington joined them, and calling for a glafs of wine, thus addreffed them, "With an heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I moft devoutly wifh that your latter days may be as profperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up fuc-

ceffively,

ceſſively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. When this affecting ſcene was over, Waſhington left the room, and paſſed through the corps of light infantry to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in a ſolemn mute proceſſion, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge to croſs the North river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat, bid them a ſilent adieu. Some of them anſwered this laſt ſignal of reſpect and affection with tears, and all of them hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their ſight, till they could no longer diſtinguiſh in it the perſon of their beloved commander in chief.

A propoſal was made to perpetuate the friendſhip of the officers, by forming themſelves into a ſociety, to be named after the famous Roman patriot Cincinnatus. The extreme jealouſy of the new republics ſuſpected danger to their liberties, from the union of the leaders of their late army, and eſpecially from a part of their inſtitution, which held out to their poſterity, the honour of being admitted members of the ſame ſociety. To obviate all grounds of fear, the general meeting of the ſociety recommended an alteration of their inſtitution, which has been adopted by eight of the ſtate ſocieties. By this recommendation it was propoſed to expunge every thing that was hereditary, and to retain little elſe than their original name, and a ſocial charitable inſtitution for perpetuating their perſonal friendſhips, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren. General Waſhington on the approaching diſſolution of the American army, by a circular letter to the Governors or Preſidents of the individual ſtates, gave his parting advice to his countrymen ; and with all the charms of eloquence, inculcated the neceſſity of union, juſtice, ſubordination, and of ſuch principles and practices, as their new ſituation required.

The army being diſbanded, the commander in chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the ſeat of Congreſs, to reſign his commiſſion. On his way thither, he delivered to the Comptroller in Philadelphia, an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever recei-

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ved. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a very particular manner. The whole ſum, which in the courſe of the war had paſſed through his hands, amounted only to £.14,479 18*s*. 9*d*. ſterling. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for perſonal ſervices, and actual diſburſements had been managed with ſuch œconomy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate ſum.

In every town and village through which the General paſſed, he was met by public and private demonſtrations of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at Annapolis, he informed Congreſs of his intention to aſk leave to reſign the commiſſion he had the honour to hold in their ſervice, and deſired to know their pleaſure in what manner it would be moſt proper to be done. They reſolved that it ſhould be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpoſe arrived, a great number of diſtinguiſhed perſonages attended the intereſting ſcene. At a proper moment, General Waſhington addreſſed Thomas Mifflin, the Preſident, in the following words:

" Mr. Preſident,

" The great events on which my reſignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my ſincere congratulations to Congreſs, and of preſenting myſelf before them to ſurrender into their hands, the truſt committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the ſervice of my country.

" Happy in the confirmation of our independence and ſovereignty, and pleaſed with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a reſpectable nation, I reſign with ſatisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accompliſh ſo arduous a taſk, which however was ſuperſeded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cauſe, the ſupport of the Supreme Power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

" The ſucceſsful termination of the war has verified the moſt ſanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interpoſition of Providence, and the aſſiſtance I have received from my countrymen, increaſes with every review of the momentous conteſt.

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"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I ſhould do injuſtice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar ſervices and diſtinguiſhed merits of the perſons who had been attached to my perſon during the war: it was impoſſible the choice of confidential officers to compoſe my family ſhould have been more fortunate; permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular thoſe who have continued in the ſervice to the preſent moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congreſs.

"I conſider it as an indiſpenſable duty to cloſe this laſt ſolemn act of my official life, by commending the intereſts of our deareſt country to the protection of Almighty God, and thoſe who have the ſuperintendance of them, to His holy keeping.

"Having now finiſhed the work aſſigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this auguſt body, under whoſe orders I have long acted, I here offer my commiſſion, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the Preſident returned the following anſwer:

"The United States in Congreſs aſſembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the ſolemn reſignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with ſucceſs, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you had accepted the ſacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilſt it was without friends or a government to ſupport you.

"You have conducted the great military conteſt with wiſdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all diſaſters and changes: you have by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens enabled them to diſplay their martial genius, and tranſmit their fame to poſterity; you have perſevered, till theſe United States, aided by a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled, under a juſt Providence, to cloſe the war in freedom, ſafety, and independence; on which happy event we ſincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having

"Having defended the ſtandard of liberty in this new world—having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe who inflict, and to thoſe who feel oppreſſion, you retire from the great theatre of action with the bleſſing of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remoteſt ages. We feel with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourſelves with the intereſt of thoſe confidential officers who have attended your perſon to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the intereſts of our deareſt country to the protection of Almighty God, beſeeching Him to diſpoſe the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and reſpectable nation; and for YOU, we addreſs to Him our earneſt prayers, that a life ſo beloved may be foſtered with all His care: that your days may be happy as they have been illuſtrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

The great ſcenes that crowded in upon the imagination of the General, and of the Preſident, ſo affected them both, that they almoſt loſt the power of utterance. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the ſpectators, on ſeeing the commander in chief of their armies, reſigning all public employments, and his country acknowledging his ſervices, and loading him with their bleſſings, were beyond deſcription. Immediately on reſigning his commiſſion, Mr. Waſhington, "haſtened with ineffable delights," (to uſe his own words) to his ſeat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac in Virginia. Here the hiſtorian would wiſh to make a pauſe, while he deſcribed the ſimple and heartfelt joy of neighbours and domeſtics, who welcomed him to his home. Let it not be deemed foreign to his preſent ſubject, to do homage to the feelings and character of the amiable partner of his conjugal happineſs upon this occaſion. She deſerved this tide of unparalleled female honour and felicity, for ſhe loved her country, and bore with more than Roman—with Chriſtian patience and fortitude, the pains to which his

long

long abſence, and the perils of his health and life had exposed her. Fain would the hiſtorian purſue the illuſtrious hero of the revolution a little farther, and attempt to deſcribe his feelings upon his firſt review of the events of the war, from the quiet ſtation which he now occupied. But this digreſſion would lead him far from the objects of his hiſtory.

To paſs ſuddenly from the toils of the firſt public commiſſion in the United States, to the care of a farm; to exchange the inſtruments of war, for the implements of huſbandry, and to become at once the patron and example of ingenious and profitable agriculture, would to moſt men have been a difficult taſk. But to the elevated mind of the late commander in chief of the armies of the United States, it was natural and delightful; and ſhould theſe pages deſcend to poſterity, and war continue ages hence to be the means of eſtabliſhing national juſtice, let the commanders of armies learn from the example of General Waſhington, that the fame which is acquired by the ſword, without guilt or ambition, may be preſerved without power, or ſplendor, in private life.

Though the war was over, much remained for Congreſs to do. The proper diſpoſition of their unſettled weſtern and northern frontier became an object of ſerious attention. The eaſtern States had been ſettled uniformly in townſhips, but the middle and ſouthern States by indiſcriminate location. On a compariſon of the merits of theſe different methods of ſettling a new country, Congreſs gave a decided preference to the former. Conformably to theſe principles, an ordinance was paſſed on the 20th of May 1785, for diſpoſing of that part of the weſtern territory, which bounds on Pennſylvania. Many ſettlers ſoon migrated to this country. Civil government was eſtabliſhed among them. A governor and judges were appointed and paid by Congreſs. They fixed their capital, to which they gave the name of Marietta, at the conflux of the Muſkingum and Ohio. In the firſt years of their ſettlement, Congreſs ordained that they ſhould be governed as a Colony of the United States, but engaged, that as ſoon as they had attained a population, equal to that of the ſmalleſt of the old States, they ſhould be received into

into the union on equal terms. By this liberal policy, the bleſſings of a free government may be gradually extended to the remoteſt bounds of the United States.

Theſe arrangements for promoting domeſtic tranquillity were accompanied by others for forming commercial connections with the ſovereigns of Europe. Towards the cloſe of the war, Dr. Franklin had concluded a treaty between the United States and the King of Sweden. He, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jefferſon, were appointed joint commiſſioners for forming commercial treaties with foreign powers. They ſucceeded in their negociation with the King of Pruſſia and the Emperor of Morocco. Mr. Adams was alſo appointed Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of Great Britain; and was inſtructed to ſolicit a treaty between theſe two powers, but the Miniſters of his Britannic Majeſty, declined entering into any treaty with him. They aſſigned the inability of Congreſs to compel the different States to obſerve general commercial regulations, as a reaſon for declining the propoſed connection. From miſmanagement, the United States with reſpect to trade were in fact nearly as dependent on Great Britain, after the peace, as before the war. They had loſt the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects with regard to ſome branches of commerce, but ſuffered moſt of the inconveniencies of that political condition, in conſequence of their inability to regulate their commerce by one will. In this deranged ſtate of public affairs, Great Britain could expect little more from a treaty with the United States, than what her merchants already poſſeſſed. She continued to reap the benefits of an extenſive trade with America, without a reciprocity of advantages. Mr. Adams finding his labours ineffectual, deſired leave to return to America, which was granted.

To provide funds for paying their continental debt, engaged the attention of Congreſs for ſome time before, and after the peace. The amount of this at the cloſe of the war, as nearly as could be calculated, was about forty millions of dollars. In proſecuting the neceſſary means for diſcharging it, the inefficacy of the articles of confederation ſoon became apparent. By theſe, Congreſs

grefs though bound to pay, poffeffed no power of raifing a revenue. Its conftitutional authority extended no farther, than to make requifitions on the feveral States for their quotas, to be afcertained in a relative proportion to the value of their lands. A propofition was made to the feveral States near to the clofe of the war, to inveft Congrefs with a power to levy an impoft of five per cent. at the time and place of importation, on the value of all goods imported from foreign countries, till the whole of their public debt fhould be extinguifhed. Danger being now nearly over, felfifh paffions began to operate. Objections were made to trufting the purfe and the fword into the hands of the fame body of men, and that too for an indefinite period of time. To obviate thefe fcruples, Congrefs on a reconfideration propofed to limit the grant of a continental impoft to 25 years, and to confine the application of its neat proceeds exclufively to the difcharge of exifting debts. On thefe principles, a fyftem of revenue for funding and ultimately paying the whole public debt was completed, and offered to the States for their ratification. By this it was propofed to raife two millions and a half of dollars annually, to defray the intereft of the continental debt. It was expected that the impoft would bring in the firft year one million of dollars, and increafe every year afterwards. The States were refpectively called upon to raife the balance, according to proportions affigned them, from fome permanent eftablifhed fund fubject to the difpofal of Congrefs. A propofition was alfo made, to change the fœderal rule of apportioning the public debt, from the value of land, to the more practicable one of numbers of inhabitants in the different States. The whole fyftem was tranfmitted to the State legiflatures, and accompanied by an animated addrefs, enforcing the propriety of its immediate adoption. Some of the States adopted it in the whole, others only in part, and fome not at all. The States whofe population was great, and whofe lands were of an inferior quality, objected to changing the fœderal rule of apportionment, from the value of lands to numbers. Some of the States which, from their having convenient ports, were

were called importing States, found it to be more for their immediate advantage to raiſe money by impoſt for their ſeparate uſe, than for the benefit of the union. They who received foreign goods through neighbouring ſtates, and which were called conſuming States, complained that by the revolution they had only changed maſters, for that inſtead of being taxed by Great Britain without their conſent, they were virtually taxed in like manner by their ſiſter ſtates, who happened to be more favourably ſituated for importing foreign goods. From theſe jarring intereſts, and from the want of a diſpoſition to ſupport a ſupreme head, and to give up local advantages for the general benefit, the revenue ſyſtem of Congreſs was never put in operation: its failure was the ſource of many evils. No efficient funds being provided to pay the intereſt of the national debt, the public ſecurities of the United States fell in their value to ten for one, and became an article of ſpeculation. The war-worn ſoldier who received at the cloſe of the conteſt only an obligation for the payment of his hard-earned dues, was from neceſſity often obliged to transfer his rights for an inſignificant ſum. The monied man who had truſted his country in the hour of her diſtreſs, was deprived not only of his intereſt, on which he counted for his daily ſupport, but of a great part of the value of his capital. The non-payment of public debts ſometimes inferred a neceſſity, and always furniſhed an apology, for not diſcharging private contracts. Confidence between man and man received a deadly wound. Public faith being firſt violated, private engagements loſt much of their obligatory force. Gen. Waſhington, who nobly refuſed any thing for himſelf, had eloquently though unſucceſsfully pleaded the cauſe of the army, and other public creditors, in his circular letter to the governors before his reſignation, and predicted the evils which followed from the rejection of the revenue ſyſtem of Congreſs. His obſervations were as follows: " As to the ſecond article which reſpects the performance of public juſtice, Congreſs have in their late addreſs to the United States almoſt exhauſted the ſubject. They have explained their ideas ſo fully, and have enforced the ob-

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ligations the States are under to render complete juſtice to all the public creditors, with ſo much dignity and energy, that in my opinion no real friend to the honour and independency of America can heſitate a ſingle moment reſpecting the propriety of complying with the juſt and honourable meaſures propoſed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, eſpecially when we recollect that the ſyſtem referred to, being the reſult of the collected wiſdom of the continent, muſt be eſteemed, if not perfect, certainly the leaſt objectionable of any that could be deviſed, and that if *it ſhall not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable conſequences, will take place*, before any different plan can poſſibly be propoſed or adopted. So preſſing are the preſent circumſtances, and ſuch is the alternative now offered to the States." Congreſs continued to ſend forth annual requiſitions for the ſums wanted for the public ſervice, and indulged the hope that the States would ere long be convinced of the neceſſity of adopting an efficient ſyſtem of general revenue: but their requiſitions as well as their ſyſtem of revenue were diſregarded by ſome of the States, and but partially complied with by others. From this failure of public juſtice, a deluge of evils overflowed the United States. Theſe were alſo increaſed by an unfavourable balance of trade. The ravages of armies, and the interruption of a free communication, between Europe and America during the war, had multiplied the wants of the latter, to a degree which exceeded all previous calculations. An inundation of European manufactures was therefore one of the firſt effects which followed the eſtabliſhment of peace. Theſe were purchaſed by the Americans far beyond their means of payment. Adventurers graſping at the profits of trading with the new-formed States, exported to America goods to a great amount, exceeding what either prudence or policy could juſtify. The Americans ſoon found themſelves involved in a debt, to the diſcharge of which their reſources were unequal. In ſeveral inſtances, theſe debts were contracted on credit by perſons to whom the United States were indebted.

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These presuming on the justice of their country, had involved themselves in private engagements, hoping that what they received from the public would furnish them with the means of payment. Such were doubly distressed.

The sufferings of the inhabitants were increased in consequence of the obstructions of their trade. That intercourse with the West-India Islands, from which, when Colonies, they derived large supplies of gold and silver, was forbidden to them in their new capacity of independent States. Their fisheries received a severe check from their being excluded from several ports in which, when Colonies, they had found a ready sale for the fruits of their industry, which they drew from the ocean. These evils were still farther aggravated by the stoppage of the bounty on whale oil, to which, when British subjects, they were entitled. To add to their other misfortunes, they could no longer sail with safety in the Mediterranean, a privilege which they had always enjoyed, while they were a part of the British empire. Unable to defend themselves from the Algerine corsairs, they were obliged either to quit that beneficial trade, or insure it at a ruinous premium.

The United States, from the want of power in their common head, were incapacitated from acting in concert, so as to avail themselves of their natural advantages. Congress called once more upon the States to enlarge their powers, and particularly to entrust them with the regulation of commerce for a limited number of years. Some States fully complied with this call, but others fettered their grants with such conditions, as prevented the formation of an uniform system.

From the combined operation of these causes trade languished; credit expired; gold and silver vanished; and in consequence thereof, real property was depreciated to an extent equal to that of the depreciation of continental money, in the second or third year of its emission. Instead of imitating the wise policy of Great Britain, in making an artificial medium of circulation, by funding their debts, several of the States, to alleviate the distresses

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arising from the want of money, adopted the fallacious expedient of emitting paper, to supply the place of gold and silver: but the remedy increased the disease. If the funding plan had been adopted, the sum due by the United States was so much within their resources, that by the establishment of efficient funds, for the punctual discharge of the interest, the public debt might have easily been made a public blessing. It would have been a capital for the extension of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, as well as an honest and effectual substitute for real coin: but these advantages, which would have lessened much of the sufferings of the inhabitants, were lost by the imbecility of the general government, and the want of concert in the State legislatures.

When the people on the return of peace supposed their troubles to be ended, they found them to be only varied. The calamities of war were followed by another class of evils, different in their origin, but not less injurious in their consequences. The inhabitants feeling the pressure of their sufferings, and not knowing precisely from what source they originated, or how to remedy them, became uneasy, and many were ready to adopt any desperate measures that turbulent leaders might recommend. In this irritable state, a great number of the citizens of Massachusetts, sore with their enlarged portion of public calamity, were induced by seditious demagogues to make an open resistance to the operations of their own free government. Insurrections took place in many parts, and laws were trampled upon by the very men whose deputies had enacted them, and whose deputies might have repealed them. By the moderation of the legislature, and especially by the bravery and good conduct of Generals Lincoln and Shepherd, and the firmness of the well-affected militia, the insurgents were speedily quelled, and good order restored, with the loss of about six of the freemen of the State.

The untoward events which followed the re-establishment of peace, though evils of themselves, were overruled for great national good. From the failure of their expectations of an immediate increase of political happiness,

nefs, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be lefs fanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a vifionary fabric of government on the fallacious ideas of public virtue; but that elafticity of the human mind, which is nurtured by free conftitutions, kept them from defponding. By an exertion of thofe inherent principles of felf-prefervation which republics poffefs, a recurrence was had to the good fenfe of the people for the rectification of fundamental diforders. While the country, free from foreign force and domeftic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a propofition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in convention, for the purpofe of digefting a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. The firft motion for this purpofe was made by Mr. Madifon, and he had the pleafure of feeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to iffue in the eftablifhment of a New Conftitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers, and waftes of the revolution. The fundamental diftinction between the articles of confederation and the new conftitution lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raife men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the difcretion of thirteen different legiflatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the public fafety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of feveral years had proved the impoffibility of a government anfwering the end of its inftitution, which was dependent on others for the means neceffary for attaining thefe ends. By the new conftitution, one legiflative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. This enfures an uniform obfervance of treaties, and gives a ftability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requifitions of Congrefs were fubject to the revifion of thirteen legiflatures, and while thirteen diftinct and unconnected judiciaries had a conftitutional right to decide on the fame fubject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a

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more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the State legiſlatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandiſe from foreign countries, and transferred it to Congreſs for the common benefit of the union. They alſo inveſted the general government with a power to regulate trade, levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That theſe enlarged powers might be uſed only with caution and deliberation, Congreſs, which formerly conſiſted of only one body, was made to conſiſt of two; one of which was to be choſen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the State legiſlatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded legiſlature was committed to a Supreme Magiſtrate, with the title of Preſident. The conſtitution, of which theſe were the principal features, was ſubmitted to the people for ratification. Animated debates took place on the propriety of eſtabliſhing or rejecting it. Some States, who from their local ſituation were benefited by receiving impoſt duties into their treaſuries, were averſe from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were conſuming but not importing States, had an intereſted inducement of an oppoſite kind, to ſupport the propoſed new conſtitution. The proſpects of increaſed employment for ſhipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with thoſe States which abounded in ſailors and ſhips, and alſo with ſea-port towns, to advocate the adoption of the new ſyſtem; but thoſe States or parts of States, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchaſing and carrying their produce, would leſſen their profits. Some of this deſcription therefore conceived that they had a local intereſt in refuſing the new ſyſtem.

Individuals who had great influence in State legiſlatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government which, by diminiſhing the power of the States, would eventually diminiſh their own

own importance: others, who looked forward to ſeats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the ſame intereſted reaſon for ſupporting its adoption. Some from jealouſy of liberty were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honeſt ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paving the way to national greatneſs by melting down the ſeparate States into a national maſs. The former feared the new conſtitution; the latter gloried in it. Almoſt every paſſion which could agitate the human breaſt, intereſted States and individuals for and againſt the adoption of the propoſed plan of government: ſome whole claſſes of people were in its favour. The maſs of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the eſtabliſhment of an efficient government, and were therefore decidedly for its adoption. Such as lived on ſalaries, and thoſe who, being clear of debt, wiſhed for a fixed medium of circulation and the free courſe of law, were the friends of a conſtitution which prohibited the iſſuing of paper money and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to theſe, the great body of independent men, who ſaw the neceſſity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring intereſts of the different States, could not foreſee any probability of getting a better one than was propoſed, gave their ſupport to what the fœderal convention had projected, and their influence effected its eſtabliſhment. After a full conſideration, and thorough diſcuſſion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original Thirteen States, and the acceſſion of the other two was ſoon expected.* The ratification of it was celebrated in moſt of the capitals of the States with elegant proceſſions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully diſcover the effects of this new diſtribution of the powers of government; but in theory it ſeems well calculated to unite liberty with ſafety, and to lay the foundation of national greatneſs, while it abridges none of the rights of the States, or of the people.

* North-Carolina and Rhode-Iſland, ſince writing the above, have acceded to the union.

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The new conſtitution having been ratified by eleven of the States, and ſenators and repreſentatives having been choſen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met at New-York and commenced proceedings under it. The old Congreſs and confederation, like the continental money, expired without a ſigh or groan. A new Congreſs, with more ample powers, and a new conſtitution, partly national, and partly fœderal, ſucceeded in their place, to the great joy of all who wiſhed for the happineſs of the United States.

Though great diverſity of opinions had prevailed about the new conſtitution, there was but one opinion about the perſon who ſhould be appointed its ſupreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-fœderaliſts as fœderaliſts, (for by theſe names the parties for and againſt the new conſtitution were called) unanimouſly turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the moſt proper perſon to be their firſt Preſident. Perhaps there was not a well-informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Waſhington himſelf only excepted) who was not anxious that he ſhould be called to the executive adminiſtration of the propoſed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excuſed from all farther public ſervice; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the higheſt ſtation in its gift. That honeſt zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the ſervice of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great buſineſs of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he ſet out ſoon after for New-York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to ſee the Man of the people. Eſcorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the firſt character and ſtation, attended him from State to State, and he was every where received with the higheſt honours which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to him by the inhabitants of almoſt every place of conſequence through which he

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paſſed, to all of which he returned ſuch modeſt, unaſſuming anſwers as were in every reſpect ſuitable to his ſituation. So great were the honours with which he was loaded, that they could ſcarcely have failed to produce haughtineſs in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever diſcovered in this extraordinary perſonage. On all occaſions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deſerving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Of the numerous addreſſes which were preſented on this occaſion, one ſubſcribed by Dennis Ramſay, the Mayor of Alexandria, in the name of the people of that city, who were the neighbours of Mr. Waſhington, was particularly and univerſally admired. It was in the following words:

" *To* GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Eſq. Preſident of the United States, &c.*

" AGAIN your country commands your care. Obedient to its wiſhes, unmindful of your eaſe, we ſee you again relinquiſhing the bliſs of retirement; and this too at a period of life, when nature itſelf ſeems to authorize a preference of repoſe!

" Not to extol your glory as a ſoldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for paſt ſervices; not to acknowledge the juſtice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you by the ſpontaneous and unanimous ſuffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the ſupreme magiſtracy; nor to admire the patriotiſm which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now addreſs you; themes leſs ſplendid, but more endearing, impreſs our minds. The firſt and beſt of citizens muſt leave us; our aged muſt loſe their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor: and the interior navigation of the Potowmack (an event replete with the moſt extenſive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial uſe) its inſtitutor and promoter.

Farewell!

"Farewell!---Go! and make a grateful people happy; a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent ſacrifice for their intereſt.

"To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accompliſhment of the arduous buſineſs to which you are called, may he reſtore us to again, the beſt of men, and the moſt beloved fellow citizen!"

To this Mr. Waſhington returned the following anſwer:

"GENTLEMEN,

"ALTHOUGH I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot deſcribe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuſe the Preſidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice; the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as from America; the apparent wiſh of thoſe who were not entirely ſatisfied with the conſtitution in its preſent form; and an ardent deſire on my own part to be inſtrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other; have induced an acceptance. Thoſe who knew me beſt (and you, my fellow citizens, are from your ſituation in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is ſo great, that no earthly conſideration, ſhort of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my reſolution, "never more to take any ſhare in tranſactions of a public nature." For, at my age, and in my circumſtances, what proſpects or advantages could I propoſe to myſelf, from embarking again on the tempeſtuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

"I do not feel myſelf under the neceſſity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourſelves, and regard for your intereſts; the whole tenor of my life has been open to your inſpection; and my paſt actions, rather than my preſent declarations, muſt be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you moſt ſincerely for the expreſſions of kindneſs contained in your valedictory addreſs. It is true, juſt after having bade adieu to my domeſtic connections, this tender proof of your friend-

ſhips

ſhips is but too well calculated ſtill farther to awaken my ſenſibility, and increaſe my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

"All that now remains for me, is to commit myſelf and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occaſion hath happily brought us together, after a long and diſtreſſing ſeparation; perhaps the ſame gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable ſenſations muſt then be left to more expreſſive ſilence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!"

Gray's-Bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Waſhington had to paſs, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches compoſed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each ſide of the bridge was a laurel ſhrubbery. As Mr. Waſhington paſſed the bridge, a youth ornamented with ſprigs of laurel, aſſiſted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of 20,000 citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through theſe he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and reſpectable body of the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleaſures of the day were ſucceeded by a handſome diſplay of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Waſhington croſſed the Delaware, and landed on the Jerſey ſhore, he was ſaluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was diſplayed in large figures, *December* 26th 1776. On the ſweep of the arch, beneath was this inſcription, *The defender of the Mothers will alſo protect their Daughters.* On the north ſide were ranged a number of young girls dreſſed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baſkets of flowers on their arms; in the ſecond row ſtood the young ladies, and behind them the married

ladies.

ladies of the town. The inſtant he paſſed the arch, the young girls began to ſing the following ode:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
"Welcome to this grateful ſhore:
"Now no mercenary foe
"Aims again the fatal blow,
"Aims at thee the fatal blow.
"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
"Theſe thy conquering arm did ſave,
"Build for thee triumphal bowers;
"Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
"Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they ſung the laſt lines, they ſtrewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His ſituation on this occaſion, contraſted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the ſame ſpot, when the affairs of America were at the loweſt ebb of depreſſion, filled him with ſenſations that cannot be deſcribed. He was rowed acroſs the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the veſſels in the harbour hoiſted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, univerſal joy diffuſed itſelf through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing-place to the houſe which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant proceſſion of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houſes of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, ſoon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do ſolemnly ſwear that I will faithfully execute the office of Preſident of the United States, and will, to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect, and defend, the conſtitution of the United States." On this occaſion he was wholly cloathed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpoſe, the clergy of different denominations aſſembled their congregations in their reſpective places of worſhip, and offered up public prayers for the Preſident and people of the United States. About noon

noon a proceſſion, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the Preſident's houſe to Fœderal Hall. When they came within a ſhort diſtance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both ſides of the way, through which Mr. Waſhington, accompanied by the Vice-Preſident, Mr. John Adams, paſſed into the Senate Chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houſes, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-ſtreet, and before them, and an immenſe concourſe of citizens, took the oath preſcribed by the conſtitution, which was adminiſtered by R. R. Livingſton, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful ſilence prevailed among the ſpectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the moſt ſublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him Preſident of the United States. This was anſwered by the diſcharge of 13 guns, and by the effuſions of ſhouts, from near 10,000 grateful and affectionate hearts. The Preſident bowed moſt reſpectfully to the people, and the air reſounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate Chamber, where he made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

" *Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*

" AMONG the viciſſitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was tranſmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the preſent month. On the one hand, I was ſummoned by my country, whoſe voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had choſen with the fondeſt predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable deciſion, as the aſylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more neceſſary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waſte committed on it by time.---On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the truſt to which the voice of my country called me, being ſufficient to awaken in the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of her citizens, a diſtruſtful ſcrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with deſpondence, one, who, inheriting inferior

ferior endowments from nature, and unpractifed in the duties of civil adminiftration, ought to be peculiarly confcious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful ftudy to collect my duty from a juft appreciation of every circumftance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this tafk, I have been too much fwayed by a grateful remembrance of former inftances, or by an affectionate fenfibility to this tranfcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little confulted my incapacity as well as difinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which mifled me, and its confequences be judged by my country, with fome fhare of the partiality in which they originated.

" Such being the impreffions under which I have, in obedience to the public fummons, repaired to the prefent ftation; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this firft official act my fervent fupplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the univerfe---who prefides in the councils of nations---and whofe providential aids can fupply every human defect---that His benediction may confecrate to the liberties and happinefs of the people of the United States, a government inftituted by themfelves for thefe effential purpofes; and may enable every inftrument employed in its adminiftration, to execute with fuccefs the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I affure myfelf that it expreffes your fentiments not lefs than my own; nor thofe of my fellow citizens at large, lefs than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invifible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every ftep by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, feems to have been diftinguifhed by fome token of providential agency. And in the important revolution juft accomplifhed in the fyftem of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary confent of fo many diftinct communities, from which the event has refulted, cannot be compared

compared with the means by which moſt governments have been eſtabliſhed, without ſome return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future bleſſings which the paſt ſeem to preſage. Theſe reflections ariſing out of the preſent criſis have forced themſelves too ſtrongly on my mind to be ſuppreſſed. You will join with me, I truſt, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auſpiciouſly commence.

"By the article eſtabliſhing the executive department, it is made the duty of the Preſident "to recommend to your conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient." The circumſtances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that ſubject, farther than to refer to the great conſtitutional charter under which you are aſſembled, and which, in defining your powers, deſignates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more conſiſtent with thoſe circumſtances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to ſubſtitute, in place of a recommendation of particular meaſures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotiſm which adorn the characters ſelected to deviſe and adopt them. In thoſe honourable qualifications, I behold the ſureſt pledges that as on one ſide no local prejudices, or attachments---no ſeparate views, nor party animoſities, will miſdirect the comprehenſive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts; ſo, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the reſpect of the world. I dwell on this proſpect with every ſatisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inſpire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly eſtabliſhed, than that there exiſts in the œconomy and courſe of nature, an indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous

people,

people, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no leſs perſuaded that the propitious ſmiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that diſregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itſelf has ordained. And ſince the preſervation of the ſacred fire of liberty, and the deſtiny of the republican model of government, are juſtly conſidered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* ſtaked, on the experiment entruſted to the hands of the American people.

"Beſides the ordinary objects ſubmitted to your care, it will remain with your judgement to decide, how far an exerciſe of the occaſional power delegated by the 5th article of the conſtitution, is rendered expedient at the preſent juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged againſt the ſyſtem, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

"Inſtead of undertaking particular recommendations on this ſubject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I ſhall again give way to my entire confidence in your diſcernment and purſuit of the public good.

"For I aſſure myſelf, that whilſt you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future leſſon of experience; a reverence for the characteriſtic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will ſufficiently influence your deliberations on the queſtion, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be ſafely and advantageouſly promoted.

"To the preceding obſervations I have one to add, which will be moſt properly addreſſed to the Houſe of Repreſentatives; it concerns myſelf, and will, therefore, be as brief as poſſible.

"When I was firſt honoured with a call into the ſervice of my country, then on the eve of an arduous ſtruggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required, that I ſhould renounce every pecuniary compenſation. From this reſolution I have in no inſtance departed. And being ſtill under the impreſſions which produced it, I muſt decline as inapplicable to myſelf

ſelf, any ſhare in the perſonal emoluments, which may be indiſpenſably included in a permanent proviſion for the executive department; and muſt accordingly pray, that the pecuniary eſtimates for the ſtation in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to ſuch actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my ſentiments, as they have been awakened by the occaſion which brings us together—I ſhall take my preſent leave; but not without reſorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble ſupplication, that ſince he has been pleaſed to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and diſpoſitions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the ſecurity of their union, and the advancement of their happineſs; ſo his Divine bleſſing may be equally *conſpicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate conſultations, and the wiſe meaſures on which the ſucceſs of this government muſt depend."

The Preſident of Congreſs then attended on divine ſervice.

In the evening a very ingenious and ſplendid ſhew of fire-works was exhibited. Betwixt the fort and the bowling green ſtood conſpicuous, a ſuperb and brilliant tranſparent painting, in the center of which was the portrait of the Preſident, repreſented under the emblem of fortitude; on his right hand was Juſtice, repreſenting the Senate of the United States; and on his left, Wiſdom, repreſenting the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

This memorable day completed the organization of the new conſtitution. By this eſtabliſhment the riſing generation will have an opportunity of obſerving the reſult of an experiment in politics, which before has never been fairly made. The experience of former ages has given many melancholy proofs, that the popular governments have ſeldom anſwered in practice to the theories and warm wiſhes of their admirers. The preſent inhabitants of independent America now have an opportunity to wipe off this aſperſion, to aſſert the dignity of human nature, and the capacity of mankind for ſelf-government.

 Citizens

Citizens of the United States! you have a well-balanced conſtitution eſtabliſhed by general conſent, which is an improvement on all republican forms of government heretofore eſtabliſhed. It poſſeſſes the good qualities of monarchy, but without its vices. The wiſdom and ſtability of an ariſtocracy, but without the inſolence of hereditary maſters. The freedom and independence of a popular aſſembly, acquainted with the wants and wiſhes of the people, but without the capacity of doing thoſe miſchiefs which reſult from uncontrolled power in one aſſembly. The end and object of it is public good. If you are not happy it will be your own fault. No knave or fool can plead an hereditary right to ſport with your property or your liberties. Your laws and your lawgivers muſt all proceed from yourſelves. You have the experience of nearly ſix thouſand years, to point out the rocks on which former republics have been daſhed to pieces. Learn wiſdom from their misfortunes. Cultivate juſtice both public and private. No government will or can endure which does not protect the rights of its ſubjects. Unleſs ſuch efficient regulations are adopted, as will ſecure property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy, or deſpotiſm, will be the conſequence. By juſt laws and the faithful execution of them, public and private credit will be reſtored, and the reſtoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this young country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, which will ſoon enable the United States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the reſources of your country, and ſo trifling are your debts, compared with your reſources, that proper ſyſtems, wiſely planned and faithfully executed, will ſoon fill your extenſive territory with inhabitants, and give you the command of ſuch ample capitals, as will enable you to run the career of national greatneſs, with advantages equal to the oldeſt kingdoms of Europe. What they have been ſlowly growing to, in the courſe of near two thouſand years, you may hope to equal within one century. If you continue under one government, built on the ſolid foundations of public juſtice, and public virtue, there is no point of national greatneſs to which

which you may not aſpire with a well-founded hope of ſpeedily attaining it. Cheriſh and ſupport a reverence for government, and cultivate an union between the Eaſt and South, the Atlantic and the Miſſiſſippi. Let the greateſt good of the greateſt number be the pole-ſtar of your public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they beget debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and produce others, which are almoſt peculiar to themſelves. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are your proper buſineſs. Seek not to enlarge your territory by conqueſt; it is already ſufficiently extenſive. You have ample ſcope for the employment of your moſt active minds, in promoting your own domeſtic happineſs. Maintain your own rights, and let all others remain in quiet poſſeſſion of theirs. Avoid diſcord, faction, luxury, and the other vices which have been the bane of commonwealths. Cheriſh and reward the philoſophers, the ſtateſmen, and the patriots, who devote their talents and time, at the expence of their private intereſts, to the toils of enlightening and directing their fellow citizens, and thereby reſcue citizens and rulers of republics from the common and too often merited charge of ingratitude. Practiſe induſtry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and the whole lovely train of republican virtues. Baniſh from your borders the liquid fire of the Weſt-Indies, which, while it entails poverty and diſeaſe, prevents induſtry, and foments private quarrels. Venerate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements of agriculture. Honour the men, who with their own hands maintain their families, and raiſe up children who are inured to toil, and capable of defending their country. Reckon the neceſſity of labour not among the curſes, but the bleſſings of life. Your towns will probably ere long be engulphed in luxury and effeminacy. If your liberties and future proſpects depend on them, your career of liberty would probably be ſhort; but a great majority of your country, muſt, and will be yeomanry, who have no other dependence than on Almighty God for his uſual bleſſing on their daily labour. From the great exceſs of the number of ſuch independent farmers in theſe States, over and above all other claſſes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reaſonably preſumed.

Let

Let the haplefs African fleep undifturbed on his native fhore, and give over wifhing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Univerfal juftice is univerfal intereft. The moft enlarged happinefs of one people, by no means requires the degradation or deftruction of another. It would be more glorious to civilife one tribe of favages than to exterminate or expel a fcore. There is territory enough for them and for you. Inftead of invading their rights, promote their happinefs, and give them no reafon to curfe the folly of their fathers, who fuffered your's to fit down on a foil which the common Parent of us both had previoufly affigned to them: but above all, be particularly careful that your own defcendants do not degenerate into favages. Diffufe the means of education, and particularly of religious inftruction, through your remoteft fettlements. To this end, fupport and ftrengthen the hands of public teachers, and efpecially of worthy clergymen. Let your voluntary contributions confute the difhonourable pofition, that religion cannot be fupported but by compulfory eftablifhments. Remember that there can be no political happinefs without liberty; that there can be no liberty without morality; and that there can be no morality without religion.

It is now your turn to figure on the face of the earth, and in the annals of the world. You poffefs a country which in lefs than a century will probably contain fifty millions of inhabitants. You have, with a great expence of blood and treafure, refcued yourfelves and your pofterity from the domination of Europe. Perfect the good work you have begun, by forming fuch arrangements and inftitutions as bid fair for enfuring to the prefent and future generations the bleffings for which you have fuccefsfully contended.

May the Almighty Ruler of the Univerfe, who has raifed you to independence, and given you a place among the nations of the earth, make the American Revolution an era in the hiftory of the world, remarkable for the progreffive increafe of human happinefs!

An Alphabetical Liſt of the Members of Congreſs, who attended from the ſeveral States, from 5th November, 1774, to the 3d of March, 1789.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Atkinſon George
Bartlet Joſeph
Blanchard Jonathan
Folſom Nathaniel
Froſt George
Foſter Abiel
Gilman John Taylor
Gilman Nicholas
Livermore Samuel
Long Pierce
Langdon John
Peabody Mr.
Sullivan John
Thornton Matthew
Whipple William
Wentworth Mr.
Woodbury Mr.
White Mr.
Wingate Pain.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Adams Samuel
Adams John
Cuſhing Thomas
Dana Francis
Dane Nathan
Gerry Elbridge
Gorham Nathaniel
Hancock John
Holten Samuel
Higgenſon Stephen
Jackſon Jonathan
King Rufus
Lovell James
Lowell John
Oſgood Samuel
Otis Samuel Allyn
Paine Robert Treat
Partridge George
Sedgewick Theodorus
Ward Artemus.

RHODE-ISLAND.

Arnold Jonathan
Arnold Peleg
Collins John
Cornell Ezekiel
Ellery William
Gardner Joſeph
Hopkins Stephen
Howell David
Hazard Jonathan
Marchant Henry
Moury Mr.
Manning James
Miller Nathan
Varnam James M.
Ward Samuel.

CONNECTICUT.

Adams A.
Cook Joſeph Platt
Dyer Eliphalet
Deane Silas
Elſworth Oliver
Edwards Pierpoint
Huntington Samuel
Huntington Benjamin
Johnſon William Samuel
Law Richard
Mitchell Stephen Mix
Root Jeſſe
Sherman Roger
Spencer Joſeph
Sturges Jonathan
Wolcott Oliver
Williams William
Wadſworth Jeremiah.

NEW-YORK.

Alſop John
Boerum Simon
Benſon Egbert
Duane James
Duer William
Floyd William
Ganſevoort Leonard
Gelſton David
Haring John
Hamilton Alexander
Jay John
Livington Philip
Low Iſaac
Lewis Frances
Livingſton Robert R.
L'Hommedieu Ezra
Lanſing John, Jun.
Livingſton Walter
Lawrence John
Morris Goveneur
M'Dougall Alexander
Paine Ephraim
Platt Zephaniah
Pell Philip
Scott John Morin
Schuyler Philip
Smith Melancton
Wiſner Henry
Yates Peter W.
Yates Abraham, Jun.

NEW-JERSEY.

Boudinot Elias
Burnett W.
Beatty John
Crane Stephen
Clark Abraham
Cooper John
Condict Silas
Cadwallader Lambert
Dehart John
Dayton Jonathan
Elmer Jonathan
Fill John
Freelinghauſen Frederick
Hart John
Hopkinſon Francis
Houſtoun William Churchill
Hornblower Joſiah
Kinſey James
Livingſton William
Smith Richard
Sergeant Jonathan D.
Scudder Nathaniel
Stephens John
Symmes John C.
Schureman James
Witherſpoon John Doctor

PENNSYLVANIA.

Atlee Samuel
Armſtrong John
Armſtrong John, Jun.
Biddle Edward
Bayard John
Bingham William
Clymer George
Clingan William
Coxe Tench
Dickinſon John
Duffield Samuel
Franklin Benjamin Doctor
Fitzſimmons Thomas
Gardner Joſeph
Galloway Joſeph
Humphrey Charles
Hand Edward
Henry William
Ingerſol Jared
Jackſon David
Irvine William
Mifflin Thomas
Morton John
Morris Robert
M'Clene James
Matlack Timothy
Montgomery Joſeph
Morris Cadwallader
Meredith Samuel
Peters Richard
Pettit Charles
Roads Samuel
Roſs George
Roberdeau Daniel
Reed Joſeph
Reid James R.
Smith Jonathan B.
Searle James
Shippen William
St. Clair Arthur
Wilſon James
Wynkoop Henry.

DELAWARE.

Bedford Gunning, Jun.
Dickinſon John
Dickinſon Philemon
Kearnny Dyre
M'Kean Thomas
M'Comb Eleazer
Mitchell Nathaniel
Patton John
Perry William
Rodney Cæſar
Rodney Thomas
Sykes James
Tilton James
Van Dyke Nicholas
Vining John
Wharton Samuel.

MARYLAND.

Alexander Robert
Chaſe Samuel
Carrol Charles of Carrolton
Carrol Daniel
Contee Benjamin
Forbes James
Forreſt Uriah
Goldſborough Robert
Henry John
Hanſon John
Hemſley William
Hindman William
Hariſon William
Howard John E.
Johnſon Thomas
Jenifer Daniel of St. Thomas
Lee Mr.
Lloyd Edward
M'Henry James
Paca William
Plater George
Potts Richard
Rumſey Benjamin
Ramſay Nathaniel
Roſs David
Smith William
Stone Thomas
Seney Joſhua
Tilghman Matthew
Wright Mr.

VIRGINIA.

Adams Thomas
Bland Richard
Braxton Carter
Baniſter Mr.
Bland Theodorick
Brown John
Carrington Edward
Dawſon John
Fleming William
Fitzhugh Mr.
Griffin Cyrus
Grayſon William
Henry Patrick
Hariſon Benjamin
Harvie Mr.
Heney James
Hardy Samuel
Jefferſon Thomas
Jones Joſeph
Lee Richard Henry
Lee Francis Lightfoot
Lee Arthur
Lee Henry
Mercer James
Madiſon James, Jun.
Mercer John Francis
Monroe James
Nelſon Thomas
Pendleton Edmund
Page Mann
Randolph Peyton
Randolph Edmund
Smith Merriweather
Waſhington George
Walker John

NORTH-CAROLINA.

Aſhe John Baptiſt
Burke Thomas
Blount William
Bloodworth Timothy
Burton Robert
Caſwell Richard
Cumming William
Hooper William
Hewes Joſeph
Harnet Cornelius
Hill Whitmel
Hawkins Benjamin
Jones Allen
Jones Willie
Johnſton Samuel

Nash Abner
Penn John
Sharpe William
Spaight Richard Dobbs
Sitgreaves John
Swann John
Williams Mr.
Williamson Hugh
White James.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Bee Thomas
Beresford Richard
Bull John
Butler Pierce
Barnwell Robert
Drayton William Henry
Eveleigh Nicholas
Gadsden Christopher
Gervais Lewis John
Heyward Thomas
Hutson Richard
Huger Daniel
Izard Ralph
Kinloch Francis
Kean John
Laurens Henry
Lynch Thomas
Middleton Henry
Middleton Arthur
Matthews John
Motte Isaac
Pinckney Charles
Parker John
Rutledge John
Rutledge Edward
Ramsay David
Read Jacob
Trapier Paul
Tucker Thomas Tuder.

GEORGIA.

Baldwin Abraham
Few William
Gibbons William
Hall Lyman
Howley Richard
Houston William
Habersham John
Jones N. Wimberly
Langworthy Edward
Pierce William
Telfair Edward
Walton George.

Presidents of CONGRESS, *from* 1774, *till* 1789.

Peyton Randolph
Henry Middleton
John Hancock
Henry Laurens
John Jay
Samuel Huntington
Thomas M'Kean
John Hanson
Elias Boudinot
Thomas Mifflin
Richard Henry Lee
Nathaniel Goreham
Arthur St. Clair
Cyrus Griffin

THE E[illegible]



